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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN EVALUATION OF RELOCATION IN URBAN RENEWAL

by

© FRANK R. GNANDT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled An Evaluation of Relocation in Urban Renewal submitted by Frank R. Gnandt in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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(Supervisor)

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Date: August 11, 1976

ABSTRACT

The present study is concerned with the effects of relocation on households and businesses displaced from their premises as a result of a public urban renewal project. Relocation, particularly residential relocation, can be seen as a legal and moral responsibility of society and therefore must be undertaken in an orderly and systematic manner within the planning process in an attempt to minimize the disruption to lives and businesses.

An interview survey was conducted among those residents and businessmen who were relocated as a result of the Downtown Redevelopment Project in the City of Lethbridge. It was found that although benefits were derived by some, many relocatees, particularly the elderly, low income segment of the population, endured hardships. The consequences of business relocation, on the other hand, were generally favorable. Although many of the managers and owners of business operations disapproved of the manner in which relocation was undertaken, the program was a blessing in disguise.

While both costs and benefits were experienced by the households and the commercial outlets in relocation, many of the difficulties encountered were the result of inefficient and ineffective direction in the planning process. The theme of the study, then, is the failure of the planning process in Lethbridge, to formulate and implement a comprehensive relocation program.

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INTRODUCTION

The present study is concerned with the effects of relocation on households and businesses displaced from their premises as a result of a public urban redevelopment project. Relocation commonly receives too little attention in urban redevelopment, and yet the displaced population is vitally affected. Relocation can disrupt not only a family home or a business but the social and emotional ties which develop because of close association with people, places and things within a neighborhood. The behavior of individuals thrives within the framework of neighborhood associations and as a result constitutes a lifestyle. The commitment to such an environment by those who exist within it can be strong and those who are forced to relinquish their lifestyles because of relocation may suffer hardships.

Problems of Residential Relocation

The nature of relocation programs invariably implies difficulties. Conflict arises as a result of demands and available resources, an example of which is discussed by Meltzer:

> ...In the final analysis, any relocation plan is dependent upon an available supply of housing, both public and private. To recognize the fact that relocation must inevitably accelerate competition for an already inadequate supply of housing, particularly

> for housing at levels that the bulk of relocatees can afford and then to proceed with the relocation of families without providing for meeting this need, is to fly in the face of reason and reality[1].

Given these conflicts, the formulation of comprehensive plans which attempt to assure successful relocation is imperative.

A recent study, relating to economic and social achievement in urban renewal, indicated the incompatibility between economic and social solutions. This study of over 70 renewal projects in 22 American cities, revealed that they were very successful in strengthening the economies of the cities, improving their competitive positions, and adding to their tax bases[2]. On the other hand, the programs were relatively ineffective in dealing with the major social problems of inadequate low income housing and residential blight in low income neighborhoods[3]. In Canada,

---

[1] J. Meltzer, "Relocation of Families Displaced in Urban Redevelopment:Experience in Chicago," in Urban Redevelopment:Problems and Practices, C. Woodbury, (ed). Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 452.

[2] From a fiscal standpoint, slums are burdens on a city's tax base. See C. Woodbury, Urban Redevelopment:Problems and Practices, Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1953, Chapter 1.

[3] "Urban Redevelopment, A Social Failure," in Urban Research News, Vol. 9, No. 14, May 5, 1975, p. 1.

Pickett found that,

> although most cities have relocated between 20 and 40 percent of families displaced, far too many have moved to unknown locations. In too many cities we have no idea whether the present housing circumstances of displaced families are better than those from which they were forced to move[4].

Costs are frequently incurred by those forced to relocate[5]. Webster's dictionary defines cost as "the loss or penalty incurred in gaining something."[6] Applied to residential relocation, this definition would be considered applicable because people move from decayed housing into dwellings of good condition at considerable expense. Relocation may sometimes impose hardships while offering little or no substantial gain. For example, people experience the disruption of neighborhood ties, increased rents, and moving expenses yet do not benefit from improvements in housing conditions which is a theoretical objective of relocation.

---

4 S. Pickett, "An Appraisal of the Urban Renewal Program in Canada," in Canadian Housing:A Reader, K.S. Seyegh, (ed), Waterloo:University of Waterloo, 1972, p. 211.

5 See H. Gans, Urban Villagers, New York:Glencoe Press, 1962.
H. Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment in Relocation Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 25, February 1959, pp. 15-25.
C. Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 30, November 1964, pp. 266-286.
H.W. Reynolds, Jr., "Population Displacement in Urban Renewal," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol. 22, January 1963, pp. 113-128.

6 Webster's Dictionary, Markham:Simon and Schuster of Canada Limited, p. 87.

Costs may be physical or emotional and vary in intensity with an individual's personality, economic situation and social commitment to a neighborhood. For example, the costs of moving to a new location for both residents and businesses, can be measured in tangible, economic terms. An intangible cost of relocation is more difficult to determine. It may involve the emotional strain of an elderly person who has been evicted from his home which is located in an area where he has lived for most of his life and where many of his activities and acquaintances are located.

The lack of substantial support for the social concerns in redevelopment programs in Canada, however, has not been common practice. While the first generation of urban renewal programs ended in the late 1960's and has since been extensively criticized because of its widespread use of 'bulldozer techniques,' the social needs of those forced to relocate because of renewal projects had not been forgotten:

> The task of finding alternative accommodation for the displaced, informing people of their legal rights, ensuring that no unwarranted distress is caused, and maintaining good public relations for the whole project needs to be assumed[7].

---

[7] Vancouver Redevelopment Study, Vancouver:City of Vancouver Planning Department For The Housing Research Committee, 1957, p. 7.

To achieve a successful rehousing program for the displaced populations in urban renewal, other problems needed to be overcome:

> The city must face the obligation of finding for all families, accommodation that would be decent, safe and sanitary. Under present rental rates, however, this task would be difficult. Additional low cost housing must be provided within the city if redevelopment is going to be a continuous process[8].

Additional low income housing was provided during the 1960's, but as indicated by the Hellyer Task Force Report in 1968, public housing was not a solution[9]. Although an immediate solution had not been found, the evolution of renewal policy had generated an awareness of the housing problems and the needs of those forced to relocate.

Problems of Business Relocation

Redevelopment is frequently viewed as an economic venture.

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8 W. Gerson, An Urban Renewal Study For The City of Winnipeg, The CPR- Notre Area, Winnipeg:Planning Research Centre and School of Archetecture, University of Manitoba, 1957, p. 53.

9 D.G. Bettison, The Politics of Canadian Urban Development, Published For The Human Resources Council of Alberta. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1975, pp. 204-220.

Public officials view the problem of decayed areas as one of upgrading. Lands designated for redevelopment are cleared to allow new construction to proceed, and the value of the property is increased as the land is converted to its "highest and best use." As a result of this shift in land use, the city may benefit from an increased tax base and the elimination of slums[10].

Business relocation is seen in a different perspective by businessmen. The small businessman who operates in deteriorated areas because rents are low can experience extreme difficulties in relocation. Costs of relocating, loss of a productive sales area and the psychological costs of starting a business operation anew may cause some businesses to close out.

The effects of business relocation may vary considerably depending on the type and stability of the business operations involved and the assistance given in relocation. In Canada, however, business relocation does not demand the same type of concern as that of residential relocation. The effects of business relocation have not been well documented and little provision in the urban renewal legislation has been devoted to this issue. In Alberta, under the Alberta Housing Act, neither the provincial nor the municipal governments are legally bound to assist, financially or otherwise, businesses that have been forced to relocate because

---

[10] R.H. Ratcliff, Urban Land Economics, New York:McGraw-Hill, 1949, pp. 11-20.

of public projects. If the problems of business relocation become too burdensome, however, and cause an excessive number of commercial enterprises to close out a re-evaluation of the type of assistance given to business relocation will be essential.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Hardships are an inevitable result of relocation and it is the responsibility of public officials to plan efficient and effective programs to minimize the costs involved. The present study attempts to analyze the consequences of residential and business relocation. The objectives of the study are to:

1. describe the spatial pattern of residential and commercial relocation;
2. describe the financial, social and emotional costs incurred by the households and businesses involved in relocation; and
3. describe the extent to which relocatees have adjusted to their present environments.

The study also examines the process of relocation, its objectives and the means to achieve successful relocation. The effects of relocation are dependent upon the program established prior to eviction and the planning procedures used to achieve their objectives.

Questionnaire analysis was used to determine the effects of relocation on those businessmen and households forced from their

premises. This method was used to determine the economic, spatial, social,and emotional effects of relocation.

Relocation as part of the planning process has encountered difficulties. Some of the problems can be seen as external to the planning process such as the increased rents incurred in relocation. Others, such as the information flow between the relocatees and public officials are essential to the planning process. The task of the planning process then, is to provide a statement of objectives which would attempt to foresee as many of the difficulties in relocation as possible. Moreover, a relocation plan must be flexible enough to allow for problems which may arise at a later stage of the scheme. The present study attempts to evaluate the effects of relocation in light of the planning strategy used in the City of Lethbridge.

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The City of Lethbridge had considered the possibility of revitalizing the CBD for several years, and redevelopment was chosen as the means of achieving this objective. The project was initiated in 1972 when city officials enticed Woodwards Stores Limited and the Provincial Government to develop a major section of the downtown area. (See Figure 1.1) The proposed development, Lethbridge Centre, includes a regional shopping centre, an office tower and apartment buildings. (See Plate 1.1)

CITY OF LETHBRIDGE

Land Use in the Central Business District

Figure 1.1

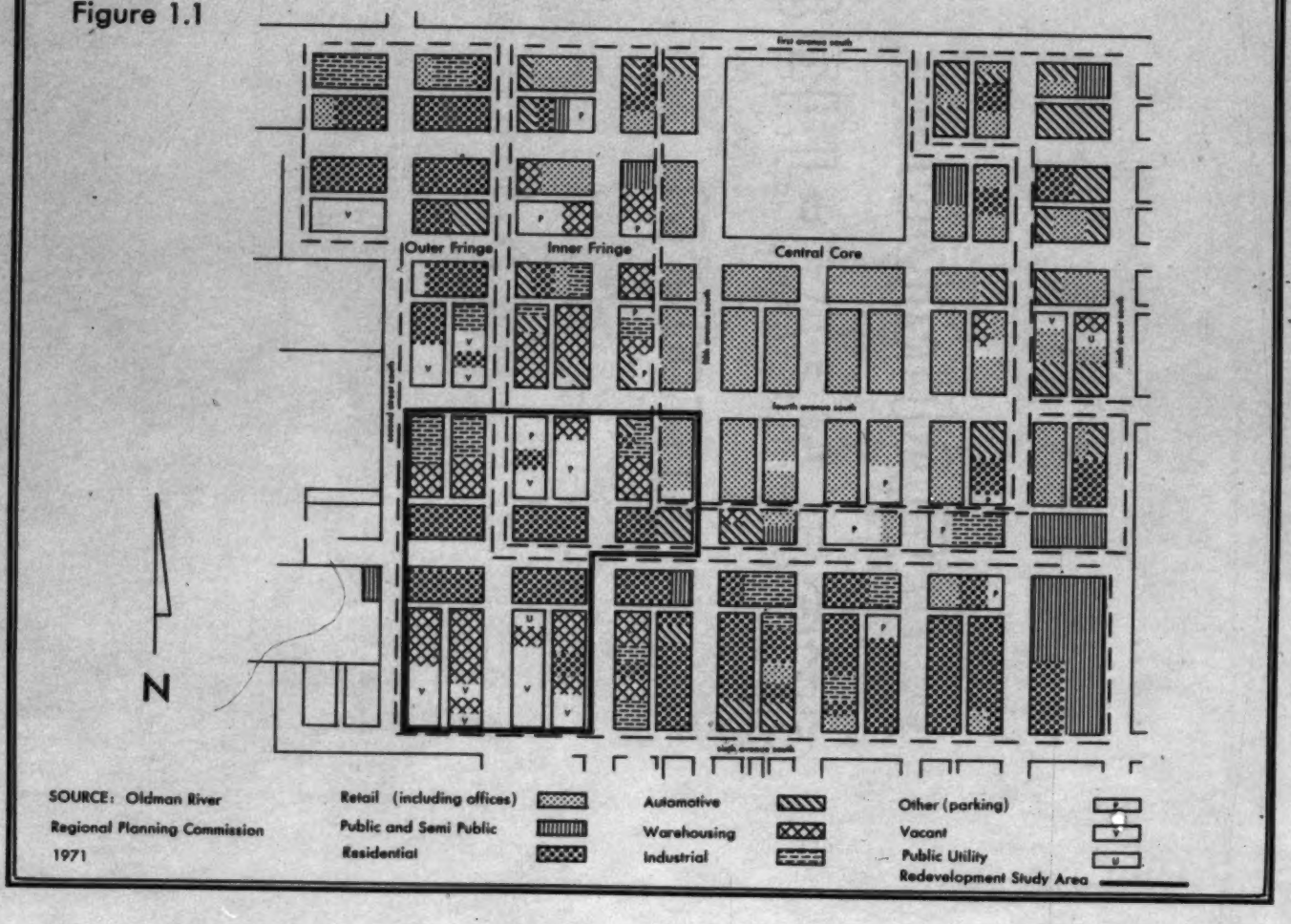

Plate 1.1 The Lethbridge Centre Project

The proposed site of Lethbridge Centre had previously been the subject of an urban renewal study under the terms of the National Housing Act. A report was produced in 1966 but little action occurred other than to accept several recommendations for alterations to the zoning by-law. It did however, initiate concern over the problems of the CBD.

In 1972, Woodwards Stores Limited indicated interest in developing a major commercial outlet in the city and requested a downtown location which could be purchased at a set price per acre. At the same time, the city was able to interest the provincial government to purchase land adjacent to the area designated for the Woodwards development for the purpose of constructing a provincial office building. In both cases the city was requested to acquire the land and in turn sell it to the parties involved. However, the problem which had arisen as a result of the intended redevelopment scheme was by what means could the city undertake the purchases of the land.

Under Section 127 of the Municipal Government Act, a city council's sources are limited:

> "127 (1) A council may acquire lands or any interest therein within or without the municipality for any municipal purpose[11]."

---

[11] Statutes of the Government of Alberta, The Municipal Government Act, Edmonton:L.S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 474.

It could not be said, however, that the city was purchasing these lands for "municipal purposes." Section 117 of the Planning Act did provide the means by which the city could purchase land for re-development:

> "117 (1) When a development scheme comes into force the council may acquire by expropriation or otherwise any lands or buildings the acquisition of which is essential to the carrying out of the scheme, together with lands
> (a) that are remnants of parcels, portions of which are necessary for carrying out the scheme, or
> (b) that may be injuriously affected by the scheme
>
> (2) Where land is acquired for the purposes of a development scheme, the owner of the land has the same right to compensation and therefore, as he would have if the land were acquired for public purposes by the municipality under the municipal Act by which it is governed.
>
> (3) A council may dispose of any lands acquired for the purpose of the development scheme without the approval of the propriety electors, subject to any building or other restrictions that may be set out in the development scheme[12].

For the Lethbridge scheme to be effective it was necessary to acquire the right to the lands before their planned use was discovered. It was felt that the city's involvement could not be revealed and therefore a local real estate agent was hired to acquire options on the lands in question. For this purpose an option fund

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[12] Statutes of the Government of Alberta, The Planning Act, Edmonton:L.S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 199.

was set up under the control of the city's Land Sales Committee. While this was being done negotiations were already in progress with both Woodwards Stores Limited and the Provincial Government for the proposed redevelopment scheme which was incorporated as City By-law 3080[13].

The reasons for redevelopment in the CBD were twofold: to eliminate blighted areas and to revitalize the downtown as a business centre. Movement of inner city residents to suburban areas had caused a change in the social class of the inner city neighborhoods. As buildings in the area deteriorated with age, the large homes were converted to rooming houses and suites in an attempt by absentee landlords to profit from rental housing. (See Plate 1.2) Apartments were also made available through the conversion of commercial buildings. For example, many offices experienced vacancies as office space in the suburban areas became more appealing. Conversion to residential use provided financial return. Expansion of commercially used buildings into residential suites and rooms was also prevalent. The result was an overlapping of residential and commercial land uses.

---

[13] Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, Lethbridge Downtown Development Scheme By-laws, 3080 and 3258, City of Lethbridge: Office Consolidation, October 1975.

Plate 1.2 The type of housing which presently exists in the area surrounding the redevelopment. Similar structures were evident in redevelopment site. Conditions varied considerably and conversion to multiple dwelling units was prevalent.

Business premises situated in the redevelopment site also experienced deterioration. Incidences of physical and functional blight were prevalent not only in the project site but in the downtown area in general[14]. According to the city, the CBD was failing to maintain itself as an attractive commercial area. As a result, it was losing its dominance as the major business section in the community. In addition, the development of two regional shopping centres constituted a detrimental influence to the vitality of the CBD by providing consumers with attractive and convenient shopping alternatives.

The objective of the General Plan for the City of Lethbridge was to maintain the CBD as the dominant commercial area of the city[15]. Redevelopment was implemented to achieve this objective. Successful projects of this nature had been experienced in a variety of urban centres. In Halifax

> "the city witnessed the planned redevelopment of several blighted areas...and the revitalization of the downtown with construction of Scotia Square, an apartment, hotel, office and retail complex in the centre of the business complex16."

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14 For further discussion concerning forms of commercial blight, see J.L.B. Berry, "Commercial Structure and Commercial Blight", Department of Geography Research Paper No. 85. University of Chicago Press, 1963.

15 City of Lethbridge, General Plan, 1963, Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, Lethbridge, 1963.

16 Urbanism and Environment, 1974, Ottawa Federal Publications Service, 1974, p. 138.

In Lethbridge, redevelopment was immediately evident from a physical appearance standpoint as evidences by the many renovations of store fronts in hopes of attracting consumer traffic from Lethbridge Centre. (See Plate 1.3) Further rearrangement of business activities are yet to be experienced. However, expectations of future activities in the downtown were viewed as favorable by various public officials but substantial evidence to support this trend was not documented. It was assumed that with the existing conditions which were evident in the city in 1972, redevelopment would automatically revitalize the downtown. Proper study in assessing the potential for redevelopment and the effect of such development on the community was not carried out. Planning procedure in the Lethbridge redevelopment project can only be considered as undesirable.

DATA COLLECTION

The data used in analyzing relocation in the Lethbridge Downtown Redevelopment Scheme were obtained from questionnaires administered to as many of the former residents and businessmen who could be traced after eviction. The research field work which included the search for the relocatees had taken place two years after eviction. Although different types of moving behavior occurred as a result of the initial announcement of redevelopment, only those households who were given official eviction notices were

Plate 1.3 The physical conditions of some businesses in the CBD. Redevelopment created a new hope for the CBD as many store fronts changed substantially in hopes of attracting overflow consumer traffic from Lethbridge Centre.

contacted. It was assumed that those households which relocated prior to the official eviction date were more able to adapt to the situation and constituted no problem by relocating without assistance. The residents who were the first to move into alternative accommodations may have pre-empted the limited housing alternatives available to the less adaptable groups. Hence, this situation may have aggravated the latter groups problems in finding suitable relocation alternatives. The behavior of the adaptable households may have created an additional strain on an already tight supply of low income housing. The effect of relocation on this segment of the population has not been documented nor has the affect of their moving behavior on the housing stock. Further research in this area is necessary to provide a more complete analysis of the consequences of redevelopment on individual households as well as the community in general.

An analysis of the consequences of relocation necessarily involves a comparison of conditions, both physical and social, prior to and after eviction. However, deomographic characteristics specific to the study neighborhood prior to redevelopment were difficult to acquire. Census tracts did not provide information for the specific area designated for the project nor did the City undertake a study concerning the social and physical aspects of individual households. The only information available was the results of a survey conducted by a University of Lethbridge Geography class, in March 1973. Interviews for this survey were obtained from

126 households and the total population covered by the survey was estimated at 183 men, women and children. The data permitted a post-relocation comparison of similar information with many of the same respondents. A more detailed description of the analysis is given in Chapter 4, but caution is extended to any interpretation of the data. The information may not be entirely reliable since those who conducted the survey were students. It is also acknowledged that had a survey been conducted both prior to and after eviction with the same households in both surveys, a more reliable comparison of conditions would have been possible.

The official notice of eviction was distributed by the city to 90 households, 57 of whom were located and interviewed for the present study. The remainder of the relocatees could not be traced and their status remains unknown. The procedure used in contacting the people who were evicted from the renewal site was carried out in two stages. First, the names of the residents who lived in the project site prior to eviction were obtained in Henderson's Directory for the years 1970-1973. This was done to identify those residents who were not transient residents of the neighborhood. Those names which appeared in the directory each year were considered relatively stable members of the neighborhood. Since Henderson's Directory cannot be considered entirely reliable, a second method of tracing evicted households was necessary. The files of Information Lethbridge were available for examination and this source identified those

households and businesses which were evicted[17].

The resident questionnaire was administered to any adult member of the household. The business questionnaire was given to owners and managers of relocated businesses. Both questionnaires included a series of limited choice and open end questions. (See Appendix A & B).

Questions in the resident questionnaire were designed to elicit responses pertaining to the relocation process as well as background information on age, occupation and income. The questions focused on such problems as the difficulty households encountered in their search for accommodation, the information available concerning eviction procedures, and the reasons for present housing choice. Included also were questions related to the costs involved in relocation, changes in rent, assistance offered by the city, and the attitude relocatees had towards relocation and whether attitude changes were commensurate with successful post-relocation accommodation.

The results of this investigation should be interpreted with caution. Results were subjective in nature and based on the respondents' ability to remember events and attitudes which occurred in their former environment. The defensive attitude the relocatees had towards their former neighborhood was predominant during interviews. Many of the relocatees initially were reluctant to discuss the problems of relocation. When relocation was first mentioned, the

---

17 Information Lethbridge is a governmental agency in the city which compiles information concerning various aspects of community life. It provided a list of addresses for those residents and businesses evicted from their premises.

interviewer was viewed as a city employee, a person with whom few were anxious to cooperate. Once the intention of the interview had been clarified however, cooperation was abundant and the task of leaving the residence became near impossible. The opportunity to discuss the misfortunes of the poor and elderly in relocation with a concerned person was an experience that was not frequently available to them.

Difficulties were encountered in attempting to locate the present residences of the relocatees. Many of the evicted residents were poor and elderly and found affordable accommodation in rooming houses, basement suites and old apartment blocks which were difficult to locate. Although the Social Services Department assisted 18 senior citizens in relocating, they refused to provide a list of current addresses for these relocatees. Moreover, they did not know where the remaining 72 relocatees presently resided nor did they appear to care. Furthermore, the Planning Commission and City Hall lacked information concerning the redevelopment project.

Information concerning the affects of relocation on those businesses evicted because of redevelopment was obtained in a similar manner. Interviews were conducted with the owners and managers of the relocated commercial outlets. Since several of the businessmen did not want to take the time for lengthy interviews, the questionnaire was filled out at a time convenient to them. Some businessmen were willing to discuss at length the relocation process while others were unsure of the intentions of the interviewer and were reluctant to offer assistance. Although several of the

spokesmen stated that the interview was an intrusion of privacy, only one store owner refused to discuss the matter.

Questions in the business questionnaire were designed to elicit responses on matters relating to the manner in which relocation was carried out, the effect of relocation on business activities, the costs of relocation and the assistance offered by the city in relocation. Although most of the businesses offered assistance, few responded to questions concerning financial matters. Consequently, a relationship between economic status and relocation effects was difficult to establish. Moreover, the present study was unable to locate those business outlets which closed as a result of redevelopment. Of the 40 business establishments which were given eviction notices, only 22 remain in operation. Hence, a relationship between redevelopment and liquidation rates of various businesses was not possible. Such information would have been desirable for a study of this nature and further research is necessary to establish the pressure of relocation on marginal businesses. There is a place in the commercial community for small businesses and redevelopment should not be the reason for their closure.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The study evaluates relocation in the context of urban renewal. Chapter 2 reviews the literature that pertains to redevelopment and relocation. The understanding of these processes

is essential in assessing the manner in which renewal and relocation were undertaken. Chapter 3 examines the factors which were prevalent in the CBD prior to redevelopment. If people are to be forced from their homes, and business functions, and the commercial structure of a community rearranged, the reasons for disruption must be clear. Chapters 4 and 5 present the analysis of relocation for both the residents and businesses. Chapter 6 summarizes the major findings, evaluates the process of relocation in Lethbridge, and suggests areas for future study which may be helpful in the formulation of future policy.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the literature related to the problems of residential and commercial relocation within the context of urban redevelopment. The discussion includes an overview of urban renewal policy in Canada with the aim of relating the Lethbridge redevelopment project to relevant Federal legislation. The legal procedure under which the Lethbridge project was carried out is also outlined.

PROBLEMS OF RELOCATION

Introduction

The present study directs itself to the process of relocation which is a direct result of redevelopment. Redevelopment, a form of urban renewal involves the demolition of urban areas resulting in the relocation of households and businesses. Urban renewal was introduced by public authorities as a method of eliminating blight[1]. Residents and businesses in blighted areas could be relocated to areas which were decent, safe, and sanitary[2].

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[1]F.S. Chapin Jr. Urban Land Use Planning, Urbana:University of Illinois Press, 1972, p. 309.

[2]Government of Canada. National Housing Act, Consolidation of 1954 Act and Amendments, Ottawa:Queen's Printer, 1967, p. 36.

The decayed land could be redeveloped or restored thereby increasing its value[3]. Hence, urban renewal was viewed as a method of improving the social, physical and economic problems of deteriorated urban areas. However, a concern of the redevelopment approach, successful relocation of households and businesses, was frequently met with difficulties which were not foreseen.

Residential Relocation

Evidence from past research has shown that the effects on the individuals and families displaced by redevelopment are likely to be severe regardless of whether a good program for rehousing is available[4]. This occurs because of the relationship between the type of people that were being relocated and the physical conditions

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[3]See J. Rothenberg. Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal, Washington D.C.:Brookings Institute, 1967.

[4]C. Hartman. "The Housing of Relocated Families." Journal of the American Institute of Planners. Vol.30, No. 4, November 1964, pp. 266-286.
P.L. Niebanck. Relocation in Urban Planning:From Obstacle to Opportunity. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
H.W. Reynolds, Jr. "The Human Element in Urban Renewal." American Journal of Economics and Sociology. Vol. 22, 1963, pp. 113-128.
D. Thurz. Where Are They Now? Washington:Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, 1969.
P.C. Pineo. "Why Some Residents Oppose Renewal." Urban Renewal and Public Housing in Canada. Vol. 3, No. 5, July 1966.
S. Terreberry. "Household Relocation:Residents." in E.P. Wolf and C.W. Lebeaux, Change and Renewal in an Urban Community. Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York 1969, pp. 381-438.
F.J. Henry. The Consequences of Relocation:A Study of Hamilton's North End. Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District, 1974.

which were a part of their life style prior to eviction. Areas designated for redevelopment usually contain a segment of the population who are poor and in the latter stages of their life cycle. Relocation from their decayed and inexpensive dwellings to almost any section of the city would improve physical housing conditions but at increased rents. An added cost incurred through slum clearance is the destruction of a community that was considered home to many people.

Improvements concerning the well-being of relocatees then are difficult to assess and more often than not the views of public officials are contrary to those who actually experienced the difficulties. For example, improved building conditions may not necessarily be indicative of improved life style. People of deteriorated areas often feel an attachment to certain spatial components of a neighborhood regardless of whether they may be considered undesirable by city officials. Michelson states:

> "For people with this life style...the immediate neighborhood (i.e. pattern of several streets) is far more important to them than the condition of their housing. And the particular arrangement of the neighborhood appears to support this life style, while the latter might be considerably more difficult to maintain elsewhere, or indeed impossible."[5]

Hartman's study of the people relocated from Boston's West

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[5]W. Michelson. Man and His Urban Environment:A Sociological Approach. Reading:Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1970, p. 70.

End indicated that there was considerable improvement in average housing quality, with over 30 percent moving from substandard to standard housing but at the cost of 73 percent rise in median rent[6]. Extra expenditures may in fact, buy better quality housing and perhaps more space, but it is incorrect to regard this as an increase in the well being of the displaced persons.

Important to the analysis of displacement and its effects is the concept of what psychiatrists call a "grief syndrome"[7]. Grief is a psychosomatic syndrome that comes into play among people who have formed an attachment to an area and are now compelled to leave it[8]. They feel, psychologically, that they are losing something. In the Boston West End, among those women who had previously reported a strong attachment to the area, 73 percent later gave evidence of extreme grief. Among those who liked living there 53 percent demonstrated this syndrome[9].

The consequences of relocation then are both physical and emotional in nature. The task of attempting to alleviate the

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[6]C. Hartman, op. cit., p. 273.

[7]M. Fried. "Grieving For a Lost Home," in The Urban Condition. L. Duhl, (ed), New York:Basic Books, 1963, pp. 151-171. See also, M. Fried and P. Gleicher. "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in a Urban Slum," Journal of the American Institute of Planners. Vol. 27, 1961, pp. 305-315.

[8]Symptoms may include intestinal disorders, nausea, vomiting and crying spells which may last over an extended period of time.

[9]M. Fried, op. cit., p. 155.

problem is the responsibility of city officials, an arduous assignment at best. However, this responsibility has in the past fallen short of the intended objectives. Furthermore, this failure has frequently resulted, not from the inability to overcome obstacles, but rather through the lack of adequate planning principles and the qualified personnel to operationalize the program.

This inadequate planning has resulted in reoccurring burden that has affected successful rehousing of displaced households. A scarcity of suitable housing has caused high rates of temporary relocations[10]. In circumstances such as these, displaced families are faced to take refuge in defective dwellings upon eviction. Or, people must pay increased rents for residence that is beyond their economic situation because low rent accommodation is not available. If such results continue to occur, the objective of decent and safe housing for everyone may become devoid of meaning.

Many authors have examined relocation programs and the results have varied considerably. However, it is important to note that to date no study of relocation has experienced complete success. One must conclude that although problems in relocation are inevitable, we are still in need of a successful program, or at least a program that would minimize the difficulties involved in this delicate situation.

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[10]H.J. Reynolds, Jr. op. cit., p. 136.

Commercial Relocation

Statistics in the United States have shown that about 25 percent of the business firms affected by urban renewal have not survived, but that at least one-third of these business failures need not have occurred[11]. This high failure rate is particularly true of small businesses or manufacturing concerns which are dependent upon a combination of low rents and proximity to the CBD. Firms which are relocated generally endure increased rents. The reasons for this are:

a) due to enforced demand, property owners in adjacent areas anticipate increase demand and consequently, raise their rent levels accordingly to take advantage of the situation
b) the displaced firms are generally competitive with each other for the vacant commercial land (space) available on the open market
c) generally, space is not available in close proximity to the original location and therefore new locations must be found in higher rent areas[12].

Zimmer states that, "renewal and other public improvement

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[11] The Urban Renewal Concept Report, Edmonton:Urban Renewal Division, Planning Department, 1967, p. 79.

[12] Ibid.

programs are efficient in the physical clearance of built up areas, but they have not been able to accommodate the small businesses that traditionally have been dependent upon sites in deteriorated areas where rents are low."[13] These businesses operate at minimal levels providing at least a small return to the owners. However, the disruptive influence of renewal causes many such people to endure costs and consequently close out rather than endure the psychological and financial costs of starting again. The closure of small business operations, a livelihood for many, cannot be considered a desirable objective of redevelopment. Zimmer also found that only a few larger businesses were hurt by displacement while a much larger proportion were better off after the move than while at the original location[14].

Berry, Parsons and Platt tried to evaluate the assertion that the liquidation rate of small businesses dislocated by urban renewal was excessive[15]. They concluded that in the aggregate, the liquidation rate was not excessive, but that displacement followed by liquidation affected individual businesses differently, with benefits to some and disadvantages to others. Of the 641 dislocated businesses interviewed 207 liquidated upon dislocation, 201 have since gone out of business and 233 are still in operation. Of the businessmen

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[13] B.G. Zimmer, Rebuilding Cities, Chicago:Quadrangle Books, 1964, p. 346.

[14] Ibid., p. 335.

[15] B.J.L. Berry, S.J. Parsons, and R.H. Platt, The Impact of Redevelopment on Small Businesses. Center for Urban Studies, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1968, p. 2.

that relocated, regardless of whether or not they were adversely affected, most felt that they would have been better off if renewal had not taken place - that they had incurred costs which were not adequately compensated. One beneficial aspect of the project was the impact renewal had on surrounding adjacent commercial streets. The projects contributed to the revitalization of adjacent blocks and consequently increased the consumer demand for the area.

Kinnard states that a business relocation effort is successful when the operator remains in business with no diminution in the profitability of his operation[16]. Success or workable solutions in business relocation are of course, conditioned and defined by the character and objectives of specific renewal efforts. For example, many authors of relocation discuss success in terms of costs such as the compensation given to business owners. However, the situation in Alberta is different. Under the National Housing Act and the Alberta Housing Act, the municipality is not legally bound to provide assistance to business concerns affected by urban renewal. Hence, commercial establishments forced to move in Alberta are victims of circumstances and no compensation can be expected from the city.

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[16] W.N. Kinnard and S.D. Messner. Effective Business Relocation. Lixington:Heath, 1970, p. 36.

Kinnard does, however, offer certain conditions that apply to most relocation programs[17]. Such factors as adequate staffing, budgets sufficient to permit the staff to perform its assignments satisfactorily, and direct involvement of public officials and business leaders are important. Successful relocation depends on two basic categories of reasons: first, there must be an atmosphere of total commitment to success in business relocation within the framework of an adequately staffed and well organized business relocation office which is oriented to expenditious handling of every business relocation case on a systematic basis. Second, there must be sensitivity to the peculiar and individual requirements of displaced business, coupled with the ability to adapt available resources to each problem on the basis of the needs of the business and the demonstrated workability of similar efforts from prior experience - locally or elsewhere[18].

The effects of displacement present different opportunities and hardships to different businesses. However, the premise underlying successful commercial relocation efforts remain with the businessman himself. Public assistance is designed to facilitate his move and to minimize the impact of dislocation upon his business.

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[17] Ibid. p. 15.

[18] Ibid. p. 17.

But prospects for survival ultimately depend upon the determination and initiative of the individual businessman[19].

URBAN RENEWAL POLICY IN CANADA

The legislative roots of redevelopment schemes lie within federal urban renewal policy. Although relocation was not specifically referred to in government legislation it was the concern of the first generation of renewal studies prepared in the 1960's under the stipulations of the National Housing Act. These studies saw relocation not only as a program for rehousing displaced residents and businesses, but also as a process required to provide a systematic approach to fulfill the needs of these households and businesses. Some of these needs were to inform those who were to be displaced of their legal rights and of residential and commercial accommodation available to them. The following section describes the evolution of renewal legislation and examines the possible relationship between this legislation and the Lethbridge Redevelopment Project.

In Canada, urban renewal policy developed as part of the overall federal housing policy but within the context of provincial housing responsibility under the "Property and Civil Rights Clause" of Section 92 of the British North America Act[20]. The initiative,

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[19] B.J.L. Berry, op. cit., p. 218.

[20] D.G. Bettison. The Politics of Canadian Urban Development. Published For The Human Resources Research Council of Alberta, Edmonton:University of Alberta Press, 1975, p. 61-69.

however, came from the federal government, which passed the first substantial legislation in 1935. This was the Dominion Housing Act, the first attempt to legislate on housing as a national problem[21]. The main objectives of this measure were to reduce unemployment and to provide loans for low income housing. The establishment of the Home Improvement Plan in 1937, introduced the earliest machinery for coping with rundown housing and so was the forerunner of what later came to be known as urban renewal[22]. The Municipal Improvement Act of 1938 established the right of the federal government to deal directly with local authorities subject to some form of recognition of provincial constitutional authority. These Acts have provided the framework for viewing housing problems on a national scale.

The National Housing Act of 1944, confirmed the main features of earlier legislation[23]. It provided for federal participation with private lenders in a system of joint loans for residential mortgages, federally guaranteed loans for home improvements, and long term low interest loans for the construction of limited dividend projects for rental at modest rates. Also, it provided for federal participation in slum clearance projects, provided that the land be sold either to a limited dividend housing corporation or to a life insurance company which had agreed to build a low or moderate rental housing project on it; that the land acquired

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., pp. 81-91.

and cleared must be developed under a master plan approved by the local authority; and that the acquisition and clearing of the land had to be approved by the provincial government.

As part of the post-World War II concern about urban development, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation was established in 1945 to administer the National Housing Act[24]. Through C.M.H.C. the Federal Government's role expanded from dealing with urban degradation, to general urban development on a permanent basis.

In the National Housing Act of 1954, families dispossed by redevelopment projects had to be offered alternative accommodation in the new housing projects at fair and reasonable rentals. A 1956 amendment to this Act made it possible for a municipality to clear blighted areas and re-use the land for other than publicly owned lands. This meant that a city could use renewal as a means of altering land use patterns, so long as the alterations were within the limits of an overall municipal plan[25].

The next major revision of the National Housing Act in 1964, aimed at increasing the powers of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and further consideration was given to low income housing and urban renewal[26]. The 1964 Act was the first federal legislation to encourage and assist municipalities, with appropriate provincial authorization and supervision, to conduct broad programs

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[24] Ibid., pp. 91-99.

[25] Task Force Report on Housing. "Canadian Housing Policy, 1945-1968," in Issues For The Seventies, Housing, R. Matsushita, (ed), Toronto:McGraw Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1971, pp. 23-26.

[26] Ibid. pp. 24-25.

of urban renewal. The amendments made it possible to use this federal-provincial partnership arrangement to acquire and maintain existing housing, as well as to assist in the provision of new housing.

Under the 1964 Act, the federal government foresaw a need to stop structural and environmental decay and encourage the economic and social renewal of areas about to begin decay. It was hoped that a combination of public and private action could restore many of the older and threatened residential areas of many cities. It was in this area that C.M.H.C. was authorized to provide funds and join the provinces and municipalities in rehabilitating and conserving urban renewal areas in accordance with officially prepared plans.

While continuous admendments to the NHA attempted to solve Canadian housing problems, the failures of public housing were brought out in the Hellyer Task Force Report of 1968[27]. Concern over the misuse of government funds in public housing prompted the initial investigation. The federal government froze urban renewal programs and public housing projects because the task force had concluded that many programs were wrongly conceived or were being misused. Such programs were destroying habitable dwelling units. The task force suggested two major remedies: a universal shelter allowance

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[27]D.G. Bettison. op. cit. pp. 204-230.

which would be based on income and family size, and heavily increased support for the rehabilitation of existing homes.

The recommendations of the Hellyer Task Force were not enforced until 1972 at which time three main programs were announced:

(1) Neighborhood Improvement Program, which would pass through the provincial governments to the municipalities for rehabilitating declining neighborhoods, instead of destroying them as in the past.

(2) Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program, that would provide federal subsidies and provincial or municipal loans to help individuals restore their homes.

(3) Assisted Home Ownership Programme, that would allocate funds to provide for lower than market interest rates and longer amortization of loans[28].

In essence, urban renewal, as it was formerly defined, had ended. It was concluded that urban renewal, as it was known prior to 1972, was not in the public interest.

Urban renewal legislation, as it applied to relocation, is seen as an attempt to eliminate the distruction of adequate low income housing thereby reducing relocation problems. The lack of specific relocation policy statements in earlier legislation may have resulted from a belief which assumed that residents forced from their homes because of redevelopment would be relocated in public housing projects on the redevelopment site. Displaced businesses, on the other hand, were considered capable of relocating without assistance. However,

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[28]B. Richardson. The Future of Canadian Cities. Toronto:New Press, 1972, p. 179.

while the public housing programs have since been criticized, little attention has been given to the problems of business relocation. It is therefore necessary that the problems of relocation be given thorough examination by government, hopefully resulting in the implimentation of national policy relating to relocation.

Legal Bases of The Lethbridge Redevelopment Project

The evolution of urban renewal legislation and the effect it may have had on the Lethbridge Redevelopment Project, remains obsecure. Under the National Housing Act of 1964, funding was available for renewal projects provided that they be developed according to an official community plan. The Act also expanded the scope of renewal areas to include land uses other than residential. The point raised, then, is why did the City of Lethbridge choose not to redevelop the downtown with assistance provided by the Federal Government?

The area designated for renewal had been investigated under the terms of the National Housing Act. This investigation resulted in a report entitled Urban Renewal Study 1965-66[29]. This document was the only study which attempted to evaluate potential areas for urban renewal. The study concentrated on two specific areas in the

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[29]Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. Urban Renewal Study 1965-1966, Lethbridge:Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1966.

city, one being the downtown.

The authors of the report considered that the fringe of the downtown area was in poor to fair physical condition. Incidences of blight were no more frequent than in several other areas in the city. The area contained mixed land uses including residential, commercial and industrial. Many of the commercial buildings contained vacant offices which had been converted to residential use, usually of poor quality. The industrial and warehousing districts suffered from the congestion of truck traffic. Industrial land use was simply classified as an undesirable downtown land use.

The study indicated that the residential areas in the downtown were in poor physical condition. Although the overall density of neighborhoods was low, individual buildings showed signs of over-crowding. The downtown residential area was considered a potential fire hazard, but no more so than most older neighborhood areas where the distance between houses was too close to be acceptable under present building codes.

The population of the downtown area consisted of a large segment of elderly, low income households. In addition, a large number of transients resided in the area. Because of the poor physical condition of the buildings, many of the larger older homes had been converted to rooming houses which provided inexpensive housing.

The study recommended that the downtown area had not reached a high level of deterioration and that it did not exhibit physical or social problems severe enough to warrant redevelopment. However,

the concern of the City was the economic decline of the downtown and they attributed this decline to the lack of desirable commercial facilities. Hence, from the City's point of view, the revitalization of the downtown could simply be achieved by constructing commercial development of what they perceived as a deteriorated area. Redevelopment, then, was carried out as an economic, not a social venture.

To undertake the purchases of the land required for the Lethbridge project, a seldom used section of the Provincial Planning Act was used. This was necessary because under the Municipal Government Act, Section 127, the powers of City Council are restricted:

> "127 (1) A council may acquire lands or any interest therein within or without the municipality for any municipal purpose."[30]

The city was not purchasing these lands for municipal purposes because the development involved the participation of the private sector. Section 117 of the Planning Act, however, provided the means of expropriating land in this context:

> "117 (1) When a development comes into force, the council may acquire by expropriation or otherwise any lands or buildings the acquisition of which is essential to the carrying out of the scheme."[31]

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[30]Statutes of the Government of Alberta. The Municipal Government Act. Edmonton:L.S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 474.

[31]Statutes of the Government of Alberta. The Planning Act. Edmonton:L.S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1963, p. 199.

SUMMARY

The lack of federal guidelines relating to relocation implies that relocating a population displaced by redevelopment is not a major issue. The City of Lethbridge, which attempted to relocate only a small proportion of the residents affected by their redevelopment scheme, appeared to have also placed a low priority on this problem.

Some of the problems of relocation, then, are related to the failure of all levels of government to implement a comprehensive relocation policy. The difficulties incurred by those forced to relocate involve social, emotional, physical and financial costs. The effects of relocation must be evaluated in light of these costs.

Chapter III

GROWTH IN THE CITY OF LETHBRIDGE

INTRODUCTION

When an area ages to a point of extensive deterioration and obsolescence, urban renewal is frequently proposed to alleviate the problem. Thus, urban renewal is implemented as a planning tool to aid in the change of urban areas. An examination of redevelopment then, would be incomplete without some reference to the social and physical structure of the community prior to the redevelopment. Background knowledge of these conditions is essential to the understanding of the need for revitalization measures and the possible effects which may result because of them. This chapter is a brief summation of the atmosphere which existed prior to redevelopment and will place the renewal project in the context of urban growth in the City of Lethbridge.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE CITY OF LETHBRIDGE

The City of Lethbridge in its original setting was established as a coal producing centre located as part of a succession of smaller villages linked together by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Hence, a main factor in the development of Lethbridge was the railroad which before the 1930's permeated the settlements of the province.

The community developed according to a grid system. The

commercial and residential areas were clearly established south of the railway and along the eastern banks of the Oldman River. Galt Gardens was strategically located to act as the staging and collection area for wagon trains and the railroad. Commercial areas developed around these gardens and it was this fact more than any other that has determined the centre of the business area today, although the reason for its location is no longer an influence.

Between 1910-1920 (which was the peak period of coal mining in Lethbridge) there was a marked concentration of city growth in the area north of the railway line. After 1920, community development followed much the same spatial pattern, although expansion was minimal. Minimal growth resulted due to the decline of the coal industry and the gradual rise of other economic fields. The trends in commercial development were largely directed towards warehousing and enterprises based on or related to the agricultural industry. This phase of development located around the fringe of the business core.

Following World War II, Lethbridge along with most cities in Western Canada, experienced rapid growth. Commercial areas spread along the main arteries leading into the CBD. The CBD has shown a slight tendency to move eastward from the railway whereas the city residential areas experienced its greatest expansion in this direction. Today, the centre of the business area is only one block east and one block south of its original location. (See Figure 3.1)

GROWTH IN THE CITY OF LETHBRIDGE

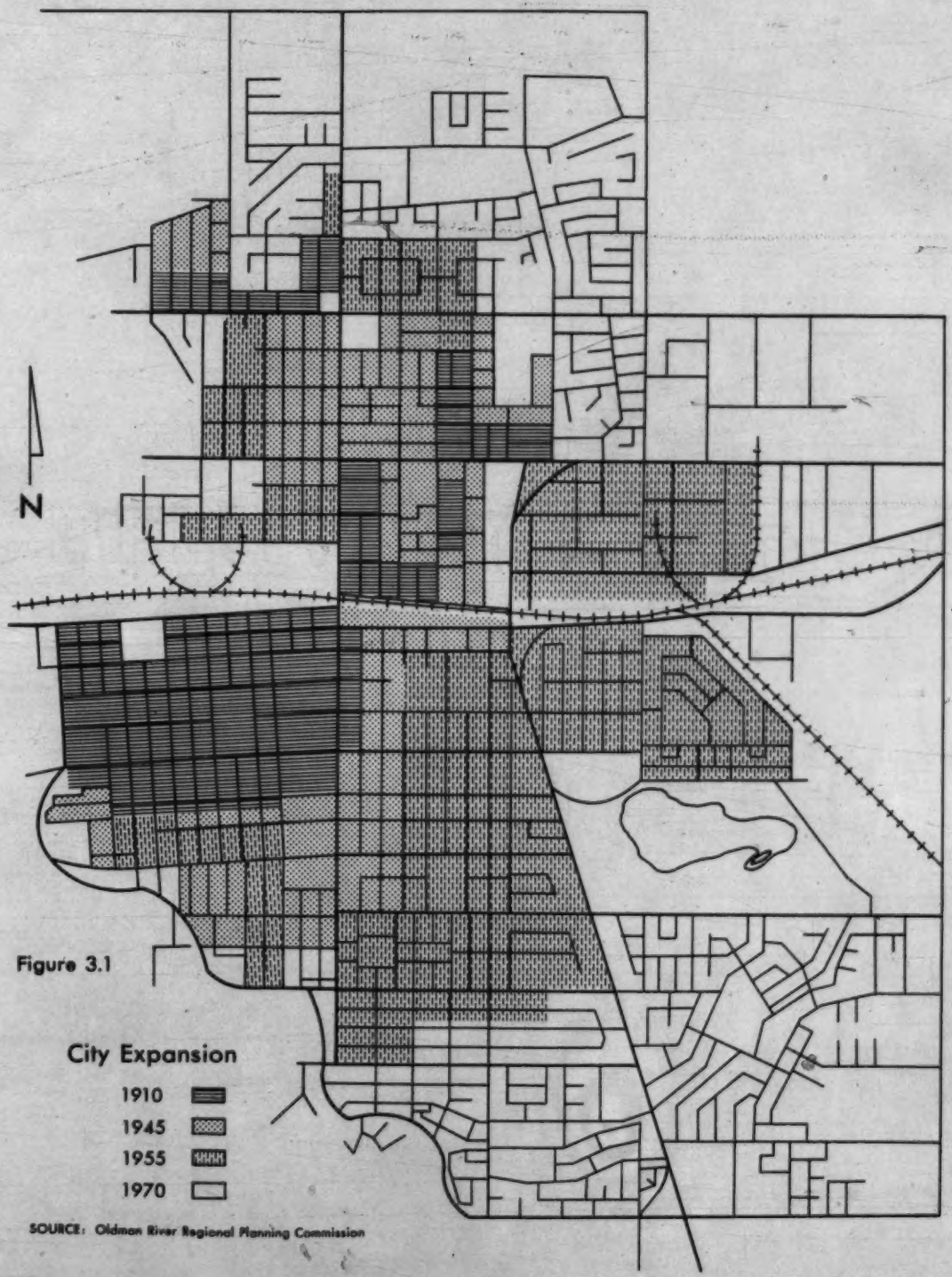

Figure 3.1

The expansion of commercial areas was largely a by product of the auto age. Intensive development occurred along routes most frequented by traffic with little consideration or foresight given to the effect the traffic would have had upon the future development of the city, or to the effect this traffic would have had upon adjoining residential areas. Commercial development in this radial manner was probably a result of the fan shaped growth of the city. Because of this growth pattern the distance from the CBD to the urban periphery increased to a greater degree than would normally be expected of a CBD located in the central area of the city. Consequently, major arteries were necessary to intercept the central business area with the outer urban fringe and in so doing increased traffic flow. (See Figure 3.2)

Along with the automobile, new modes of convenience shopping influenced urban development. The development of the Supermarket and later the community and regional shopping centers gave consumers an alternative to the CBD. This alternative offered convenience as accessibility, parking facilities, variety and comfort were enhanced. Consequently, commercial activity outside the CBD increased although economic conditions and municipal controls have placed certain limitations on scattered expansion. According to the Ubran Renewal Study of 1966, this expansion would result in a limiting situation which would be detrimental to the CBD[1].

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[1]Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, Urban Renewal Study 1965-1966, Lethbridge:Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1966, p. 23.

RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Population Growth

Lethbridge experienced two periods of rapid population growth. The first phase, 1906-11, saw intensive settlement in southern Alberta generally, at a time when ranging was giving way to farming. Between 1946-61 there was an increase in overall economic activity with a subsequent trend in population movement to urban centers and expansion of commercial and industrial activity in Lethbridge. The overall growth between 1961-71 was negligible while rural population showed an absolute decline. (See Table 3.1.)

TABLE 3.1 - POPULATION GROWTH IN LETHBRIDGE

Year	Population	Average Annual Change	Average Annual Percentage Change
1885	townsite	established	
1906	2312	110	
1911	8050	1147	496
1921	11,097	305	3.8
1931	13,489	239	2.2
1941	14,612	112	.8
1946	16,522	383	2.6
1951	22,947	1285	7.8
1956	29,348	1280	5.6
1961	35,454	6106	2.1
1966	36,837	1383	3.9
1971	41,217	4280	11.6

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census, City of Lethbridge 1966,1971.

Housing

While in older and larger cities the detached single family dwelling was, in part, a reaction against congestion, in Lethbridge it was merely a continuation of an established pattern of living. The result was a uniformity of development which was in contrast to the increasing density toward the center found in larger cities. The desire for single family homes in suburban areas and the relatively lenient demands for home financing, enabled many people to purchase new homes.

The availability of standard rental accommodation was not abundant particularly for low income groups during the latter 1960's. This factor was characteristic in most smaller urban areas throughout Alberta:

> "The low income groups in Alberta are suffering from a lack of adequate housing. Although the cities of Calgary and Edmonton are the main centres of concentration of the problem, other municipalities including rural municipalities are also effected. The effects in the latter case are perhaps much more acute from a condition standpoint."[2]

Older houses of the central city were too expensive to maintain so profit was made by renting these properties. These homes were difficult to sell because of the inability to refinance large old buildings that were beginning to deteriorate. Conversion of

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[2]Alberta Conference Committee, Provincial Housing Profiles, Alberta Housing and Urban Renewal Corporation, 1968, p. 21.

these buildings to rented suites and apartments resulted. The shortage of low income housing created a demand for rented accommodation and therefore, occupancy of the converted homes in the central city was maximized. This conversion was by no means an assurance that buildings would be maintained at the same standard that existed before conversion, particularly when many of these tenants were renting from absentee landlords. Deterioration resulted at an increasingly high rate and eventually led to densely populated properties in poor physical condition.

The family structure of this area also changed. The homes in the central area were originally constructed by the wealthier segment of the population. With the exodus of these people to the suburbs, the filtering of class resulted. The eventual outcome was an area with few families, many older citizens and a significant transient population. Facilities in the area began to deteriorate and the central city residential area lost its original status[3].

Incidence of Residential Blight

One of the major reasons for urban renewal is the elimination of blight. Blighted areas are considered unsafe, unhealthy, potential fire hazards, crime infested and economic burdens particularly when

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[3]Data concerning the occurrences in the central city neighborhood was not available. Information concerning this area was obtained through discussion with planning officials with the Oldman River Planning Commission and a spokesman for Stringham Realty in Lethbridge. The lack of evidence concerning the deterioration of the area designated for renewal emphasizes the fact that sufficient study of a major development project was not conducted.

the degree of blight is acute as in slum conditions. Such an atmosphere was not prevalent in the CBD in Lethbridge. There existed incidences of blight and some densely populated buildings, but the overall conditions were, at most, substandard[4]. Rental accommodations in the downtown were inexpensive and social familiarity and nearness to the CBD allowed for a meaningful life style for some of the neediest sectors of the population. According to the Lethbridge Urban Renewal Study completed in 1966:

> "there was no significant overcrowding in the city but rather, there existed considerable undercrowding in areas where vacant property and unwanted rooms were prevalent. There was however, a significant concentration of household units living in apartments and suites in and around the CBD which tended to downgrade conditions of buildings through landlord neglect."[5]

The characteristic of unwanted rooms was apparently the situation at the time the renewal study was done. However, a clear picture of the renewal area prior to redevelopment was not available. A comprehensive study of the renewal site was not done and therefore, the characteristic of unwanted rooms may not have been the situation prior to redevelopment. If the characteristic of unwanted rooms in the downtown area was not evident then an assumption can be made that vacancy rates in the downtown area were low due to the lack of available

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[4] Urban Renewal Study 1965-1966, op. cit. p. 75.

[5] Ibid.

inexpensive housing in the community. If this was the case, the search for alternative accommodation after eviction would have been difficult. The housing situation prior to redevelopment, however, both in the clearance site and in the community in general remains unclear.

Fire Hazard

In the inner core area there existed little relationship between the location of fires and poor housing conditions except to suggest that the greatest potential of fire spreading to adjoining buildings existed in areas where buildings were in close proximity to each other[6]. Building controls today maintain minimum requirements for distance between buildings in residential areas. Earlier building codes did not enforce this requirement. Consequently, houses in older residential areas, if not actually touching, were in close proximity creating a potential fire hazard.

The downtown commercial area, and the CBD in Lethbridge is no exception, will always be the greatest fire hazard area. Buildings that join each other are fire hazards, particularly if older buildings do not have the fire prevention construction in design and materials.

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[6]Information concerning fire hazards and crime in the city was obtained from The Urban Renewal Study and was reaffirmed with City Fire Department and The Police Department.

Crime

The crime pattern for the city residential areas was evenly distributed. The commercial sectors particularly the CBD, was of course, the area of high concentration of crime. However, there appeared to be no link between crime and poor residential accommodation. This relationship may occur in larger cities and while evidence from research supports the correlation between crime and poor housing, the validity of such research in a smaller city is doubtful.

COMMERCIAL AREAS

Deterioration of the CBD

According to the General Plan, "the older and commercial sections of the CBD were deteriorating to a point where outside forces were necessary to revitalize them."[7] To a small city which advocated the maintenance of a strong CBD, the deterioration of physical conditions and the loss of business to suburban commercial enterprises, was of great concern. Certain factors existed and influenced this decline.

About one quarter of the area zoned for commercial use in the Transition Zone of the downtown was still used for residential purposes. This subsequently caused inflation of land values for

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[7]Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, City of Lethbridge General Plan, Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1963.

parcels of land used residentially and caused the new development to grow outside the CBD. The exodus of commercial users outside the CBD depressed land values in the central city for those businesses that remained. This weakened the tax base of the city and contributed to rapid deterioration and depreciation of other parts of the business area[8].

A high monetary value was placed upon land in the CBD by those seeking to exploit its location and zoning. In this desire to obtain maximum financial returns, many parcels of land were not sold as developers looked elsewhere for land at lower costs. In a city the size of Lethbridge, which has a limited market and no prospects for rapid growth, the land costs can be a deciding factor in development. The result, was that land owners would not or could not sell their land and therefore the CBD remained only partially developed[9].

Developers have tended to seek low cost land for their proposals and then requested that the City change the zoning to suit their needs. In the past, Councils have been reluctant to refuse such proposals for fear of losing development and as a result commercial development has sprawled outward, further depreciating the downtown land and building values[10].

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[8]Data obtained from a report presented by the Oldman River Planning Commission to the City Clerk, City of Lethbridge, January 23, 1969.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

Because the downtown is adjacent to a natural topographic barrier, residential growth has developed in one direction increasing the distance from the suburbs to the CBD more than in a concentric city. The resulting fan-like growth has left the CBD at a peripheral position rather than central whereas other commercial development has migrated with the low density residential areas. Although the transportation system is good the continuing growth away from the downtown has left a wake of deteriorating developments behind.

Lethbridge Commercial Structure

Lethbridge experienced a situation in which a limited supply of commercial land was available in the CBD. The General Plan directed itself to this problem by suggesting the city concentrate its efforts on the consolidation of redevelopment of commercial activities within the central core. This stemmed from the objective that Lethbridge was to maintain a strong and viable CBD. Partially in response to this recommendation, the City of Lethbridge enacted several major policies and programs as well as initiating significant investments in an attempt to establish the proposed objective. Two specific resolutions concerning this issue were,

> "to avoid the worsening of the already existing serious commercial overzoning in the city, further extensions (other than redevelopment) of the presently commercially zoned areas shall be limited to (1) Neighborhood shopping centres (2) that the development, redevelopment and improvement of the downtown area shall be considered a

major item in the sound economic and social planning of the City."[11]

The two aims accepted by the city were neglected as the city accepted the proposal of a second major shopping center, Center Village Mall. The Oldman River Regional Planning Commission proposed that this project would have had a negative effect on the city. However, this suggestion was rejected and construction of the project went ahead. The rejection of a planning decision and the implementation of commercial development at a time when the CBD was declining in importance reflects the lack of support the city had for what appeared to be a decision based on planning principles. The effect of regional shopping centers was crucial in determining the factors that influenced the decline of the CBD. It should be noted that although planning and government officals indicated that the CBD was in decline and similar judgments were evident in various planning documents, nowhere was there evidence to support this conclusion.

Shopping Center Development

The characteristics of a regional shopping center include a location close to two major arterials tributary to the trade area.

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[11] City of Lethbridge General Plan, Resolution No. 111, Commercial Zoning, Lethbridge:Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1968.

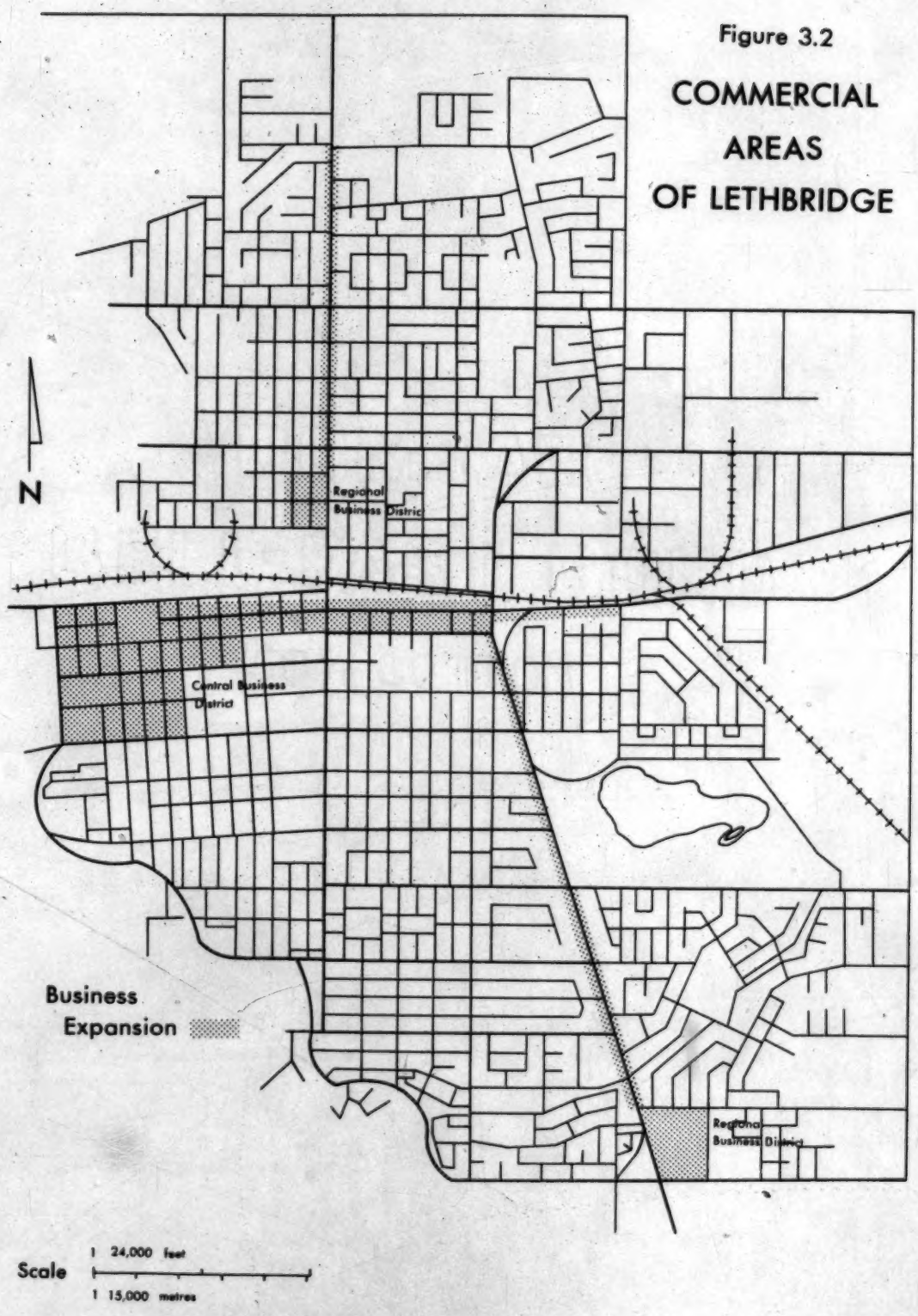
Its site should be adequate to accommodate peak parking needs and to include a complete line of shops and store types, eating and entertainment facilities, business and financial services sufficient to fill several hours of a shopper's time. Regional centers often become satellite CBD centres containing offices, auto sales and service centers and appliance centers as major space users. Conversely the primary characteristic of a shopping center in the CBD is to act as a focal point for a peak flow of traffic (particularly pedestrians) where retail, professional, financial and related services can be conveniently accommodated and made easily accessible to adequate parking, transit, and regional transportation services for clientele and employee groups patronizing or working in the CBD.

The development of Centre Village Mall provided Lethbridge with a commercial area which was characteristic of a regional shopping center and was therefore, not beneficial to the CBD. Centre Village Mall was auto oriented whereas the CBD shopping areas were pedestrian oriented. The distance between the CBD and Centre Village Mall was too great to walk and therefore promoted the use of auto transportation between the two areas increasing the flow of an already heavily used transportation artery. (See Figure 3.2)

The development of a regional mall is not an isolated development but rather a nucleus to which other development will be attracted. The development of the College Mall Shopping Centre is a prime example. On the site of the College Mall, apart from the retail shopping facilities, auxiliary facilities such as service stations, office space, a restaurant and a theatre developed. As a

Figure 3.2

COMMERCIAL AREAS OF LETHBRIDGE



direct result of the College Mall Shopping Centre, several other developments located within the immediate vicinity, the most significant of these was a restaurant complex, a motel, a number of small commercial outlets, and in excess of 300 units of multi-family residential units[12]. Similarily, commercial developments have developed around the Centre Village Mall. This development may have been economically successful operating from increased consumer traffic and a suburban location but it did negatively influence the CBD by further declining consumer traffic in the central area. Furthermore, as more and more commercial establishments located away from the CBD the attractive ability of the core area diminished and more business operations tended to follow the trend of successful suburban locations. Although many of the businesses that remained in the CBD provided low quality merchandise there were exceptions. However, the trend to suburban commercial locations and the deterioration of building structures persisted and further accentuated the decline of the inner city.

Implications to CBD

In 1963, over 40 percent of the land zoned for commercial use within the CBD was utilized for purposes other than commercial development[13]. Between 1963-69, approximately 250,000 square feet

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[12]From the files of the Oldman River Regional Planning Commission.

[13]Ibid.

of retail space was put into use outside the CBD. During the same period there existed in excess of 500,000 square feet of commercial space outside the downtown area and only two major structures (Loblaws and the Professional Building) containing a total of 58,000 square feet of retail and office space, were added to the downtown area. Furthermore, several retail outlets, as well as offices, left the downtown to locate within the suburban shopping centers. The net result has been the reduction of the percentage of the total commercial floor space represented by the CBD to less than one third of the total[14].

> "Since 1963 the function of the CBD has been on a steady decline. It is evident that new constructions have not kept pace with the demolitions and vacancies."[15]

One major building constructed in the CBD containing office and retail space prior to 1969, had major problems in finding tenants. Approximately 25 percent of the rentable space in the building was vacant at the time of survey[16]. Vacant space was apparent throughout the CBD. Moreover, vacancies in the new College Mall were also apparent. This suggests that while commercial space was available in suburban areas and in the CBD, there was a lack of potential occupants for the city as a whole.

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

Economic Feasibility of Redevelopment

Lethbridge and its trade area experienced a relatively low rate of population growth. Over the past 15 years the annual average increase was less than 2 percent[17]. Given this low rate of growth along with an already over zoned and under used commercial sector, expansion of commercial facilities might overload particularly retail floor space per capita. It is possible that such development may have an impact on the existing pattern of commercial activity.

A study published by George Hartman of Brown, Baldwin, Nisher Ltd., examined the extent of retail saturation of Canadian cities[18]. The study lists square floor space per capita for department stores in Canada's major urban centers in 1971. If the saturation point of department floor space is 3.5 square feet per capita as Hartman suggests, any rate above this level indicates a market in an uncomfortable position for additional expansion. Some Canadian economists draw the saturation point at 5, in which case fewer cities are considered saturated[19].

In the City of Lethbridge, the rate of department store floor space per capita for the city population is extremely high at 8.5. According to Hartman's figures, no other city listed on the chart is

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[17]Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, Oldman River Region: Future Trends, Lethbridge:Oldman River Region Planning Commission, February, 1975.

[18]E. Roseman, Over Expansion Now A Worry For The Big Stores, From the files of the Oldman River Regional Planning Commission.

[19]Ibid.

at a higher level. When one adds the floor space of the new department store, the floor space per capita is even higher - 11.4 square feet. The justification of this extreme figure is given when the trade area of Lethbridge is considered. Given the trade area of 100,000 population plus the total floor space of department stores, 478,750 square feet the rate is positioned at 4.8 square feet which according to Hartman is a condition of retail saturation. However, another factor which indicates the effect of trade area is the comparative rates of personal disposable income and retail sales[20]. The income rating for each area was obtained by expressing average disposable income (that is, total income divided by total population) as a percentage of the average for Canada as a whole. Sales rating was obtained by expressing average sales per capita as a percentage of the national per capita figure.

A comparison of the two rates will often yield information by indicating the area to which a city attracts buyers from other areas. If an area has a low income rating but a high sales rating it is probable that a large volume of sales is made to residents of the surrounding territory. Conversely, a high income rating coupled with a low sales rating suggests that the people who live in the area make extensive purchases elsewhere[21]. By comparing the two ratings then, it is possible to determine which areas are dominant

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[20] Survey of Markets and Business Yearbook, Montreal:Financial Post Business Yearbook, 1971, p. 75.

[21] Ibid.

retail trading centers and which are dominated by others.

Table 3.2 indicates personal disposable income and retail sales for cities of 30,000 - 100,000 population[22]. The table shows a relatively low rate of disposable income and a high rate of retail sales. This would support the fact that a large volume of sales is made to residents of the surrounding area.

This factor as well as the opportunity to develop in the CBD on prime commercial land and initiate a program of revitalization furnished an opportunity for large commercial redevelopment. There existed the potential for commercial development to be the major focus of the community. Aesthetically pleasing surroundings, convenient location and a new store type was the beginning of an urban renewal scheme for the CBD. Moreover, the city residential areas were expanding to facilitate an urban physical structure which secured the site of the CBD to be located in the center of the city rather than on the periphery[23].

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[22] Ibid. p. 38.

[23] Expansion of present and future residential development is being directed on the west bank of the Oldman River. The University of Lethbridge is located in this area and has been a major factor in creating jobs for the community. A bridge has been constructed to connect the West Side development with the East Side of the city. The connecting artery passes directly beside the redevelopment project, a link to the downtown. It should be noted that because of the bridge which connects with sixth avenue south, land values along this avenue have increased to as much as $2000 per frontage foot.

TABLE 3.2 - PERSONAL DISPOSABLE INCOME IN VARIOUS CANADIAN CITIES

Leading Cities Population 30,000-100,000	Per Capita	Retail Sales Leading Cities Population 30,000-100,000	Per Capita
Sarnia	$3710	Chatam	$2170
Sault Ste. Marie	3550	Lethbridge	2090
Oshawa	3280	Chicoutimi	1930
Niagara Falls	3220	Moncton	1930
Brampton	3160	Kingston	1920
North Bay	3130	Peterborough	1890
Peterborough	3130	Sydney	1880
Belleville	3100	Brandon	1860
Kingston	2970	Belleville	1850
Welland	2950	Drummondville	1800
Sydney	2900	Brampton	1720
Moncton	2860	Brantford	1610
Guelph	2760	Sarnia	1610
Brandon	2750	Oshawa	1570
Chatham	2740	Guelph	1550
Brantford	2690	Welland	1510
Lethbridge	2670	Sherbrooke	1490
Cornwall	2630	Sault Ste. Marie	1460.

Source: Survey of Markets, 1971.

The potential for redevelopment in the central city of Lethbridge was evident. However, the success of the redevelopment and its consequences on other commercial sectors of the city are yet to be ascertained.

SUMMARY

Many factors incluenced the decline of the CBD in Lethbridge. The extent of this decline was not as important as the implications for future commercial activity. It is sufficient to acknowledge that a course of action was necessary to revitalize the CBD. However, by refusing to accept certain planning proposals that were based on the General Plan Development Objectives, the consequences of redevelopment may be a detriment to certain commercial activities. The possibility of overloading the City of Lethbridge with commercial activity may affect the shopping malls themselves, small business and the flow of consumer traffic. There exists the potential for further research. The recognition of this potential is important since redevelopment itself is a frequent occurrence in most cities. Moreover, the impact of redevelopment on small cities may be even more acute. In an age where the majority of Canadian urban centers are not great metropolitan areas, the awareness of the effects of redevelopment on small communities is essential to the planning process.

Chapter IV

RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION

INTRODUCTION

Restructuring the commercial framework in the City of Lethbridge by strengthening the business function of the CBD, paralleled by the desire to remove the deteriorated residential areas of the inner city, constituted a potential for redevelopment in Lethbridge. However, the possibility of causing hardships for the people of the area, physically, emotionally, and socially was probable, if not unavoidable. Strong social ties existed among those who lived in the downtown area, while low rental accommodation and proximity to the downtown were some of the advantages of living in the area. The area developed community ties and the residents were willing to endure decay in their physical environment for the economic and social advantages that were available.

Redevelopment which was eventually accepted as the course of action for the central core area of Lethbridge, caused the displacement of households from the clearance site. This displacement

created an influx of people in search of low cost accommodation. The results of this relocation of households and the costs which they incurred are analyzed in this chapter. The analysis is divided into three main sections:

1. Population Structure, which examines the socio-economic status and the age composition of the renewal site prior to redevelopment and of the relocatees who were contacted after relocation.
2. Relocation of the Displaced Households, which includes an analysis of the relocation pattern and the factors affecting the search for housing.
3. Effects of Relocation, which analyzes the costs incurred by the relocatees, the changes in activity patterns, change in attitude toward relocation, and the level of satisfaction the relocatees presently have toward relocation and their living environment.

PROJECT AREA

Population Structure:Prior to Relocation

A survey of 160 households conducted in the Lethbridge redevelopment site prior to eviction indicated that the majority

enjoyed living in the neighborhood[1]. Thirty two percent of the respondents found no undesirable qualities about the neighborhood. Of those who had complaints, the poor condition of their dwelling was listed by 43 percent,and 32 percent stated noise and traffic was excessive. (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2) Of the 160 households contacted, 55 percent indicated a desire to return to live in the area after relocation and 13 percent intended to remain close to the downtown. Official census figures stated that about 300 persons lived in the renewal site. However, the census was taken in mid winter when the transient population was likely to be highest. The survey estimated that about 200 persons resided in the neighborhood prior to relocation of which 85 percent were male. Sixty seven percent of the population were either retired or unskilled (see Tables 4.3, 4.4). Three percent of the people interviewed had lived in the area for more than 50 years while 52 percent resided there for 10 years or more. Of those who lived in the neighborhood for less than 10 years, 40 percent came to the area from neighboring sectors of the city, while 28 percent migrated from other centers.

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[1] The survey was conducted by students from a Geography Class from the University of Lethbridge. This was noteworthy since it was the only survey available which attempted to establish the socio-economic conditions and other attitudes about the redevelopment area. March, 1972.

TABLE 4.1 - POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES OF THE PROJECT AREA PRIOR TO REDEVELOPMENT

Positive Attributes	Number of times cited
close to downtown	78
close to work	15
cheap rent	39
close to good transportation	7
close to friends	15
other	6

Source: Personal Files of Dr. G.H. Zeiber, University of Lethbridge

TABLE 4.2 - NEGATIVE FACTORS OF THE PROJECT AREA PRIOR TO REDEVELOPMENT

Negative Factors	Number of times cited
poor condition of dwelling	33
too much noise	25
poor condition of neighborhood	11
taxes or rents too high	8
no undesirable qualities	36

Source: Personal Files of Dr. G.H. Zeiber, University of Lethbridge

TABLE 4.3 - AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF CLEARANCE AREA PRIOR TO REDEVELOPMENT

Age in years	Percent Male	Percent Female	Percent Total
18-29	3	1	4
30-39	6	8	14
40-49	23	6	29
50-64	25	9	34
over 65	73	6	79
			160 total number of adults

Source: Personal Files of Dr. G.H. Zieber, University of Lethbridge.

TABLE 4.4 - OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CLEARANCE AREA PRIOR TO REDEVELOPMENT

Occupation	Total Number	Percent of Total
retired	69	43
unskilled	39	24
semi-skilled	8	5
managerial	3	2
unemployed	4	2
welfare	2	1
housewife	10	6
unreported	25	15

Source: Personal Files of Dr. G.H. Zieber, University of Lethbridge.

Population Structure: Post-Relocation Sample

Ninety households were given eviction notices from the City of Lethbridge on June 30, 1973. This segment of the total neighborhood population were those who failed to relocate before the eviction date. Of the 90 households, 57 were contacted in their present residence two years after eviction and interviewed for the present study.

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 indicate that the majority of the respondents were over the age of 65 and that the greatest percentage of the sample population were either retired or unskilled. Eighty-one percent of those interviewed were male. Length of residency in the project area was high. Fifty six percent of the respondents had resided in the designated redevelopment site for less than 10 years while 40 percent had lived in the area for longer than 10 years and 4 percent had lived there for more than 50 years. The neighborhood designated for redevelopment consisted of a large portion of elderly persons. Many of the residents had lived in the area for a length of time sufficient to allow community ties to develop. Disruption of these relationships constituted a potential for hardships to occur.

Table 4.7 indicates that incomes were closely related to occupational status. The majority of the respondents earned less than $450.00 per month. Only 35 percent of the respondents earned more than $450.00 per month which reflected the incomes of that segment of the population in the unskilled, skilled and managerial

TABLE 4.5 - AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SURVEY*

Age in Years	Percent of Total Sample	Total Number
18-25	4	2
26-35	-	-
36-45	7	4
46-55	16	9
56-65	19	11
over 65	54	31

TABLE 4.6 - OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF SAMPLE SURVEY

Occupation	Percent of total
retired	54
unskilled	31
skilled	2
managerial	2
professional	-
housewife	-
welfare	7
student	4

*Data for Tables 4.5 to 4.16 were obtained from the residential questionnaire survey carried out by the author in 1975.

TABLE 4.7 - INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SURVEY

Dollars per Month	Percent of Total
less than $200.00 per month	-
$201.00-250.00 per month	2
251.00-300.00 per month	14
301.00-350.00 per month	23
351.00-400.00 per month	5
401.00-450.00 per month	7
451.00-500.00 per month	10
more than $500.00 per month	35
no response	4

positions. Hence, there existed two types of residents, those who earned low incomes and resided in the area because rents corresponded to what they could afford, and those who earned a sufficient income to allow them to move elsewhere but perferred to reside in the low rent inner city neighborhoods.

PROCESS OF RELOCATION

Relocation Pattern

In many North American cities it has been observed that a high percentage of households displaced by renewal projects relocate within a small distance of their former residences[2]. The reason for this type of distribution usually occurs because of the availability of inexpensive housing near renewal sites. Neighborhoods near redevelopment areas often have conditions of blight comparable to that of the project site.

Hartman in his relocation study of Boston's West End found a distribution that lacked any type of large scale clustering[3]. He attributed this exceptional case to three factors: an entirely white

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[2]H.W. Reynolds, Jr., op. cit., pp. 113-128.

[3]C. Hartman, op. cit. p. 295.

population of relocatees, relatively high family incomes and the existence of a low rate of sound vacancies near the project site.

The relocation program in Lethbridge experienced a clustering of residences in the residential areas near the project site. Figure 4.1 indicates that 60 percent of the respondents relocated within one half mile of the clearance area. The areas near the project site included buildings which were similar in age, type, and construction to those of the renewal site although conditions of blight were not as severe. Consequently, small suites and rooms were available at relatively low rents and near the CBD. Few people moved to the residential areas north of the CBD. Although this sector of the city constituted sections of blight, the buildings were smaller and not conducive to the conversion of small rooms and suites.

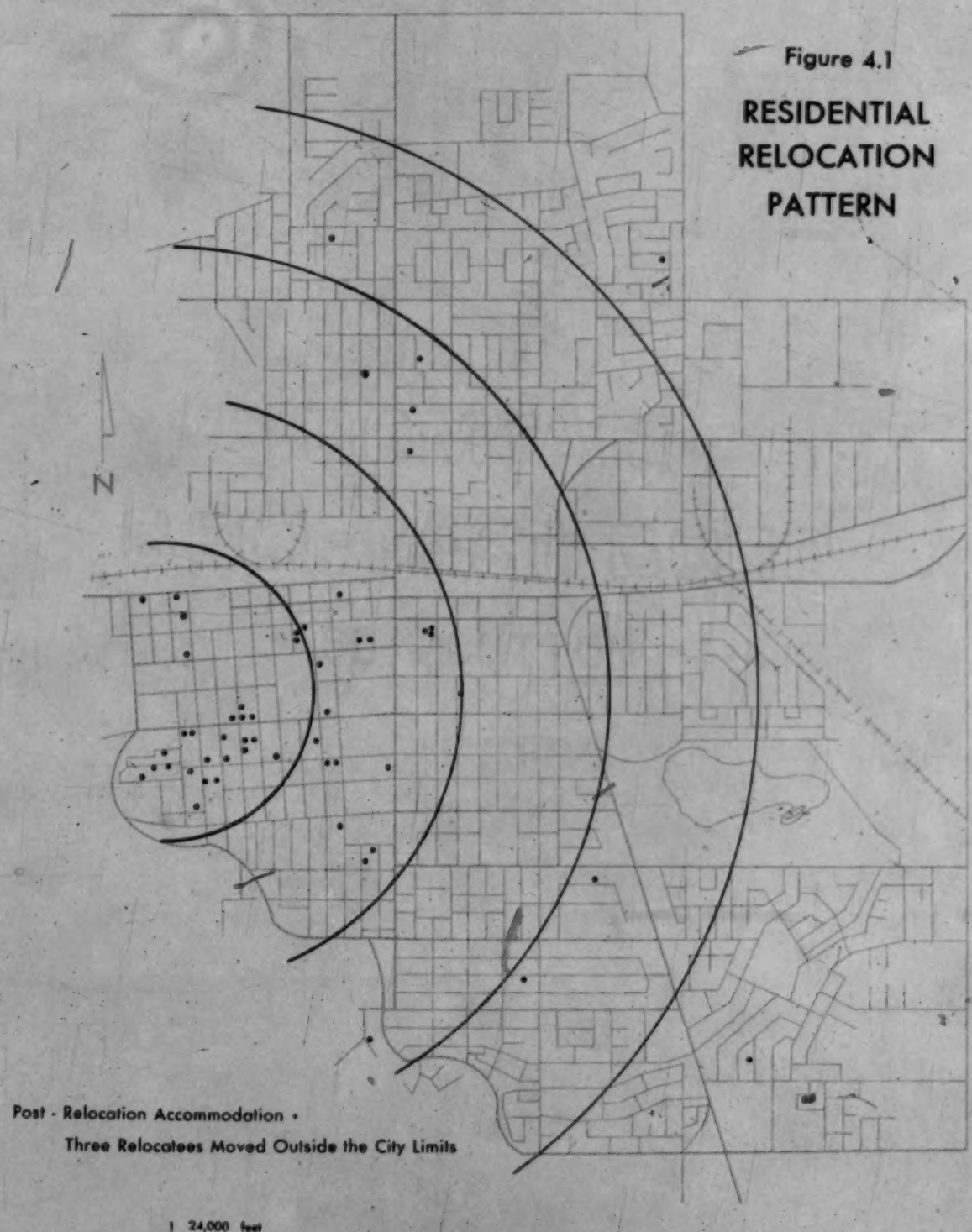
Relocation created a concentrated clustering of low income and elderly citizens in neighborhood areas surrounding the renewal project. The consequences of such a concentration may not be detrimental to the receiving neighborhood since the number of relocatees was small and many of the available vacancies consisted of suites in owner occupied homes. Moreover, many of these moves were only temporary and thus, relocation was considered not to have a negative impact on surrounding neighborhoods.

Awareness of Renewal

An objective of relocation is to ensure that the people evicted

Figure 4.1

RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION PATTERN



from their homes have had sufficient time and information to understand and prepare for relocation[4]. Readiness for change is important in accepting a new living situation after relocation but it is also an important factor in influencing when and where the relocatees will move[5]. Moreover, the time lapse between the initial awareness of renewal, the eviction notice, and clearance as well as the length of time involved in locating alternative accommoation are important factors in making the transition as easy as possible.

The search for alternative accommodation by the relocatees affected the availability of vacant accommodation in the remaining housing stock of the city. If the neighborhood population is aware of the consequences of renewal, those most mobile may relocate first, leaving those less adaptable to remain in the area until they are forced to vacate. Those who remain until the official eviction notice is given are usually the poorest segment of the relocated population. The result of this situation is a flood on the housing market which subsequently imposes a strain on the availability of affordable housing. This leaves the less mobile population a more

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[4] R.P. Groberg, Central Relocation:A New Municipal Service, Washington:Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1969, p. 71.

[5] M. Fried, "Functions of a Working Class Community in Modern Urban Society:Implications For Forced Relocation" Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 33, 1967. p. 90.

limited housing stock in which to locate accommodation. Although the relocated population did not affect housing supply in general, it did create a strain on available low income housing. It is therefore necessary to provide knowledge of renewal plans and sufficient time to prepare for relocation to allow residents the right to help themselves.

The procedure used in informing the citizenry is also important in carrying out the relocation process[6]. If a large percentage of those scheduled for eviction are informed on short notice and by mail, such procedures may be considered by the relocatees as being abrupt and authoritarian. In this situation, little responsibility or sense of belonging to a community or neighborhood where one may have resided for many years is acknowledged. It seems logical to assume that individuals forced to move because of progress and for the public good, are entitled to some dignity in the procedures used for their removal.

If renewal and relocation are heard through various unofficial channels, distinguishing fact from rumour becomes difficult. Consequently, renewal plans remain in a state of flux which in turn places the population in a pensive mood, an undesirable situation particularly if the people involved are elderly, poor and already under emotional strain. In Boston's West End, this aspect

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[6]H. Gans, op. cit., pp. 321-325.

occurred.

> "Their failure to understand the process can be traced back partly to the poor information that they received from the press and city agencies. The West Enders in turn paid little attention to press releases and were more respective to distorted facts and rumours from friends."[7]

The residents who lived in the Lethbridge redevelopment site were aware of the redevelopment plans prior to the official notice of eviction. About 95 percent of the respondents were aware of the plans for one year or longer prior to eviction. The remaining number of respondents were initially told of the plans through the eviction notice. Although the level of awareness concerning renewal and relocation was relatively high, definite information was not available. As a result of ad hoc decisions regarding the stages of the renewal process which were made by the city, relocatees were informed of the renewal plans through the media and friends and not directly from the city. The lack of a comprehensive scheme created confusion among some of the residents. Only the homowners were personally contacted by city officials prior to eviction, the purpose being the compensation for resident owned property. The senior citizens who were given financial assistance were personally contacted and kept informed about the relocation procedures by the Community

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[7] Ibid. pp. 290-291.

Services Department. However, many of the residents were uncertain as to when, where and how relocation was to take place:

> ..."Tenants in the downtown redevelopment area have been misled to believe they must move out now."[8] [The time referred to was 6 months prior to the official eviction]

Moreover, there existed a lack of communication and trust between the City and the residents. The relocatees were concerned "that their freedom would be in jeopardy."[9] Consequently, the manner in which decisions were made and the lack of a continuous flow of information between the city and the relocatees, created an atmosphere of confusion.

Length of Time to Find Accommodation

The time alloted the relocatees to secure alternative accommodation is crucial in a successful relocation plan. The length of time permitted in this search varies for each project and depends mainly on the available supply of inexpensive dwelling units and the mobility of the displaced population.

In the Lethbridge Project, the official notice of eviction permitted residents 30 days in which to locate alternative accommodation. It was difficult to assess whether 30 days was a sufficient amount of time for the average relocatee to secure accommodation,

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[8] "Pensioners Concerned at Urban Renewal," Lethbridge Herald, September 16, 1972, p. 23.

[9] Ibid. p. 23.

and as pointed out in Chapter 2, available inexpensive housing was minimal in the community. Moreover, 54 percent of the population were retired and only 12 percent of the respondents owned an automobile. Many of these people were physically handicapped which made the search for housing even more difficult. When the population of a neighborhood is forced to vacate and seek alternative modes of accommodation, authorities should provide a list of available dwellings or perhaps provide means of transportation[10]. This factor is essential if successful relocation is to be achieved. According to a spokesman for the Community Services Department, the city offered to locate temporary accommodation for the 18 senior citizens who were scheduled to eventually move into the Senior Citizens Home. Therefore, an attempt to provide temporary living space was made for a select few. Of the 18 persons, 6 stated they received such assistance and of these, none accepted the living quarters suggested by the city. Their consensus was that the dwellings located for occupancy by the city were unfit for habitation. The attempt to locate temporary accommodation for those eligible for assistance was apparently poorly undertaken.

The majority of the senior citizens required the help of relatives in their search for accommodation. In one case, an elderly woman called her son from Toronto to help her locate new residence. Another woman insisted the city still owed her for half of her expropriated property. The city failed to meet the important needs

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[10] Ibid. p. 23.

of the relocatees in such areas as providing information and housing alternatives. This lack of assistance persisted throughout the relocation program and created feelings of frustration which were prevalent two years after relocation. The memory of redevelopment and the uncertainty of relocation recreated the emotional strain which existed during the relocation process and prompted tears from several people during interviews.

Table 4.8 indicates that about 49 percent of the sample needed the full month allotted by the city to find alternative living quarters, 17 percent needed 1 to 2 months and 4 percent required more than 2 months. Although 80 percent located living quarters within the permitted 30 days, 20 percent could not locate accommodation within the allotted time period. Consequently, this latter group found it necessary to reside in temporary accommodation with friends or relatives.

TABLE 4.8 - LENGTH OF TIME TO FIND ALTERNATIVE ACCOMMODATION

Length of Time	Percent of Total
less than 2 weeks	5
2-3 weeks	26
3-4 weeks	49
1-2 months	17
longer than 2 months	3

The majority of the relocatees (95 percent) remained in their same dwelling after relocation. About 5 percent were forced to change their accommodation more than once after relocation because of personal disputes with landlords or poor facilities. The 18 people who were given government assistance received a rent subsidy while in their temporary residences. It was provided on condition that they would remain in only one residence after relocation, that is, they could not move from place to place. Consequently, these people were forced to stay in their dwelling until the senior citizens home was completed. It seems that a portion of respondents who remained in the same dwelling for two years after eviction was explained. However, the permanancy of the other residents indicates that either the residents were content with their living quarters or that the availability of inexpensive housing in the city over the past two years was minimal[11].

Senior citizens, as might be expected, required substantial time to find alternative accommodation. About 42 percent of the senior citizens required 1 month to find living quarters, 39 percent needed 1-3 weeks, and 10 percent took 1-2 months. Although the large percentage of senior citizens required 3-4 weeks to locate accommodation, they were by no means less mobile than those people under 65 years of age. Of the latter group, 53 percent took 3-4 weeks to to locate a dwelling unit. This factor may have been the result

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[11]Reynolds expressed that the number of temporary moves to substandard dwellings was excessive and attributed this to the lack of suitable relocation housing. Displaced persons were forced to take refuge in defective dwellings. H.W. Reynolds, Jr., op. cit. p. 122.

of three factors: time availability which allowed senior citizens a greater portion of each day to search for accommodation a factor not available to the working people; the communication with friends in similar economic standing who knew where low income housing was available; or the help offered by friends and relatives in the location of living quarters.

TABLE 4.9 - AGE AND ITS EFFECT IN THE SEARCH FOR ACCOMMODATION

Age	Time to Find Living Quarters				
	less than 2 weeks percent	2-3 weeks percent	3-4 weeks percent	1-2 months percent	over 2 months percent
18-25	50	50	-	-	-
26-35	-	-	-	-	-
36-45	-	25	50	25	-
46-55	-	11	67	22	-
56-65	-	-	64	27	9
over 65	7	39	42	10	3

Choice of Residence

The ability to secure a suitable residence was directly related to the mobility of those involved[12]. For example, without

[12] mobility-refers to the moving behavior that was excercised in locating accommodation; measured in accessibility and economic costs.

transportation facilities, movement in the search for housing would have been difficult. Limited financial resources would have made use of public transit expensive. Moreover, a person with a limited income would have had a severely restricted housing supply from which to choose. About 58 percent of the respondents stated that the accommodation they found after eviction was the only place available (see Table 4.10)[13]. This was due to the lack of inexpensive housing available in the community[14]. Approximately 12 percent of

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[13]Approximately 77 percent of the senior citizens stated the residence which they found was the only place available. Although the data are not conclusive, it does suggest that if senior citizens were highly mobile their response indicated that there existed a limited supply of inexpensive housing. If on the other hand sufficient inexpensive housing was available, the senior citizens did not or could not conduct a major search for accommodation.

[14]As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, multiple dwellings in the city were not abundant. The vast majority of the housing stock consisted of single family units. The main types of multiple dwellings included older apartments and many illegal basement suites. An analysis of the area surrounding the CBD and the existence of illegal basement suites can be found in an unpublished paper completed by F. Gnandt and M. Magwood in 1974. It is also noteworthy that although the majority of the relocatees located near the CBD and that proximity to the downtown was an important factor in choosing accommodation, the area south and southeast of the CBD consisted of multiple dwellings converted from single family homes. No other major area in the city provided this type of living space.

TABLE 4.10 - MAIN REASON FOR CHOOSING PRESENT RESIDENCE

Reason	Percent of Respondents
rent was right	11
good quality house	2
only place available	58
similar social class	5
close to work	7
could purchase house	12
close to CBD	5
other	-

the respondents purchased homes. These persons were among the 18 percent who formerly owned property in the redevelopment site. From the compensation received from the city they were able to purchase property elsewhere. The 6 percent who were homeowners and decided not to purchase another home were retired citizens and chose to live in temporary rental accommodation until the new Senior Citizens Home was completed. Although the compensation given for property in the redevelopment site was indicated by the homeowners as being fair, several respondents were unhappy about its purchasing value. One woman owned and operated two rooming houses. The compensation she received was initially thought to be fair but she could not purchase what she thought was equivalent to her former property. Her lack of understanding and knowledge concerning property values only aggregavated the already negative attitude

towards the city. Although there existed difficulties in understanding the legality of compensation, the financial return for property in the development site provided homeowners with sufficient resources to re-establish themselves elsewhere in the community. However, information concerning compensation procedures is a right of an expropriated victim and therefore clarification is essential.

Type of Accommodation

Table 4.11 indicates that the majority of the respondents occupied apartment dwellings prior to eviction. That percentage decreased only marginally upon relocation (see Table 4.12). The high

TABLE 4.11 - TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION PRIOR TO RELOCATION

Type of Accommodation	Percent
owner of a home	18
rent an apartment	75
room and board	7
rent a house	-
rent in a hotel	-

rate of small apartment accommodation resulted from the damands of the low income, single and elderly relocatees. Moreover,

TABLE 4.12 - TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION AFTER RELOCATION

Type of Accommodation	Percent
owner of a home	12
rent an apartment	73
rent a house	4
room and board	7
rent in a hotel	4
rent at a senior citizens home	-

accommodations were secured in areas which were similar to their former neighborhood, that is, areas close to the CBD which were composed of old converted houses.

Other types of accommodation were also evident upon relocation. Besides the 12 percent of the population who purchased homes, others found rooming houses and hotels as potential living quarters. One of the respondents who located in a hotel, did so because the location of the hotel was near to his former residence and in the downtown core. The CBD, the source of his recreational activity and the area where his friends gathered, was vital to his life style. Those living in the hotels, however, encountered a minimum of facilities. Hotel accommodation consisted of one room in which all personal belongings were contained within. No cooking or refrigeration facilities were available and the washroom was shared by tenants on the same floor of the hotel.

Rent

The people living in the project site experienced rents which were some of the lowest in the city. Tables 4.13 and 4.14 indicate the rental changes before and after relocation. Of the total number of respondents, 93 percent incurred increased rents[15]. The number of those who experienced increased rents, coupled with the high percentage of rental increase suggests that relocation seriously affected that portion of a relocatees income directed towards housing.

TABLE 4.13 - RENTAL PAYMENTS IN FORMER NEIGHBORHOODS

Previous Rents In Dollars per Month		Percent of Total Number of Respondents
under $50.00	per month	51
$50.00-$75.00	per month	17
$75.00-$100.00	per month	25
$100.00-$150.00	per month	2
over $150.00	per month	5

[15] Although 31 percent of the respondents received rental subsidies, this did not cover the total increase in rent.

TABLE 4.14 - AMOUNT OF RENTAL INCREASE UPON RELOCATION

		Percent
$0.00-$20.00	per month	4
$20.00-$40.00	per month	7
$40.00-$60.00	per month	9
over $60.00	per month	74

About 35 percent of the respondents earned more than $500.00 per month and 38 percent received incomes of less than $350.00 per month. It seems that many of those who lived in the project area had incomes substantial enough to afford accommodation in less decayed areas of the city. Those who had little choice other than to reside in blighted areas because of low incomes encountered financial difficulties upon relocation. Although 63 percent of the respondents indicated increased incomes since eviction, it was not sufficient to offset the increase in rent and the cost of moving. For example, 74 percent of the senior citizens paid rents of less than $50.00 per month prior to eviction. Relocation increased rents to over $60.00 per month (over 100 percent) for 79 percent of these citizens while pension incomes increased by only 15 percent. The change in rent was most severe for those with fixed incomes.

Hartman states,

> "although change in rent level is an important index, perhaps a more relevant consideration for housing welfare is the change in rent level relative to family income."[16]

He found the general effect of relocation was "to increase markedly the proportion of income being spent for housing."[17] This effect was evidenced by the residents of the Lethbridge Centre Project. Average rents prior to relocation were approximately $70.00 per month and the average income was $379.00 per month. The rent to income ratio was 17 percent prior to relocation. The average rent after relocation was $122.00 and the average income increased to $445.00 per month. The rent income rate changed to 27 percent, an increase of 10 percent which was a significant portion of a household's income directed to rent payments.

The increase in rent/income ratio was substantial and as reported by Hartman, such increase is frequently followed by improvements in dwelling space[18]. However, improvements in dwelling conditions for the Lethbridge relocatees would have varied considerably. Since housing conditions from which eviction occurred were only substandard and limited financial resources were characteristic of the displaced population, relocatees would have preferred to move into inexpensive housing, similar to that of the clearance site. But the lack of inexpensive housing in the community permitted only few relocatees to relocate into affordable accommodations while others were forced to accept more housing in better physical condition but at substantial rent increase.

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[16] C. Hartman, op. cit., p. 307.

[17] Ibid. p. 355.

[18] Ibid. p. 309.

Condition of Dwellings

One of the objectives of redevelopment is to provide decent, safe and healthy living environments. Hence, to evaluate the success of relocation, consideration must be given to the housing conditions derived by the displacement population.

Although the majority of relocatees had formerly lived in substandard dwellings, relocation resulted in only marginal improvements in general physical condition. Table 4.15 indicates that 39 percent of the respondents indicated their present accommodations were in good physical condition although repairs were necessary for the majority of the respondents. Minor repairs varied from cracked walls and windows to faulty plumbing while major repairs ranged from unsafe stairways to poor heating systems.

TABLE 4.15 - PRESENT DWELLING CONDITIONS

Dwelling Condition	Percent
good condition	39
needed minor repairs	54
needed major repairs	7

Of those who received relocation assistance from the city, none found dwellings that were comparable in physical condition to their former residences. Although these accommodations were temporary, they were forced to remain in living environments which were at best,

substandard. Temporary residency continued until the new Senior Citizens Home was completed, a project which took two years to be realized.

Regardless of whether or not the accommodations were temporary for the senior citizens who were assisted during relocation, physical conditions were not improved. Moreover, the two year wait for the completion of the Senior Citizens Home was a substantial portion of an elderly persons remaining years. It seemed that the hope of moving into the new Senior Citizens Tower was the sole purpose of their existence.

The city encountered external difficulties which caused the completion of the Senior Citizens Home to be delayed longer than originally planned[19]. If the Home had been completed prior to clearance of the renewal site many of the difficulties which the relocatees incurred, particularly the emotional strain of anticipating the opening of the Home and the inconvenience of temporary moves to substandard dwellings, could have been avoided.

Comparison of Facilities

The respondents were asked to indicate whether certain facilities or aspects in their present dwelling were more or less favorable than in their former residence. The response was intended

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[19]Funds from the Provincial Government were delayed and various labor strikes during the construction of the Home occurred.

to remove sentiment by comparing separate facilities rather than the general accommodation. In comparing residential environments one might be inclined to be defensive about a home from which one was forced. Comparison of separate facilities was hoped to extract an objective response.

TABLE 4.16 - HOUSE FACILITIES:A COMPARISON BETWEEN FORMER AND PRESENT DWELLINGS

Facilities	more satisfactory percent	was satisfactory percent	no different percent
outside appearance	60	11	29
bath or toilet facilities	40	7	53
heating system	32	5	63
kitchen facilities	53	19	28
yard space	35	18	47
sleeping space	40	9	51

Table 4.16 indicates a comparison of present household facilities with those formerly available in the project site. Outside appearance was an important factor since aesthetic quality influenced the attitude one had towards a residential dwelling. About 59 percent of the respondents stated that the outside appearance of their present dwelling was more satisfactory than their former residence.

This response was explained by the fact that the area from which the relocatees were evicted constituted a blighted residential area, possibly the worst degree of blight in the city. However, 30 percent of the respondents indicated no change and 11 percent found the outside appearance of their present residence to be in worse condition than their former residence.

About 40 percent of the respondents experienced improved toilet facilities in their present residences. Many of the dwellings in the renewal site provided toilet facilities which were shared by other tenants. If an individual moved to a dwelling which provided separate washrooms, an improvement would have resulted.

Of the other facilities which were compared improvements for each facility was evidenced by at least 30 percent of the relocatees. Those who found facilities less satisfactory were in the minority. The comparison suggests that although a substantial number experienced improved facilities or facilities comparable to their former residences, relatively few households incurred facilities which were less satisfactory.

Choice of Neighborhood

Because the attitudes of the respondents towards their present neighborhoods were associated with sentiment, an objective response was difficult to obtain. Although an individual may have approved of his present environment a negative response may have been initiated,

prompted by a defensive attitude towards his former neighborhood.

TABLE 4.17 - RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION:ATTITUDE TOWARDS PRESENT ENVIRONMENT

Level of Satisfaction	Percent of Total Respondents
like very much	16
like somewhat	33
indifferent	14
dislike somewhat	30
dislike very much	7

Table 4.17 indicates that about half of the respondents had found a favorable attitude towards their present environment while a substantial number were unhappy with their present surroundings. About 38 percent of the respondents failed to indicate why they liked or disliked their present neighborhoods. The most frequent negative responses were that the present living area was simply not home and that the neighborhoods were too far from the CBD. Positive factors of present neighborhoods varied from "a nice neighborhood" to "better physical condition of present dwelling."

Those who approved of their present neighborhoods were mostly under 65 years of age. About 32 percent of the senior citizens gave negative responses which accounted for the vast majority of negative responses indicated in Table 4.17. It seems the senior citizens

found it most difficult to adjust to forced change.

Change in Activity Patterns

Relocation altered the relative location of households with respect to commercial and public services as well as neighbors and friends with whom they interacted. As a result, some of the households found it necessary to alter their activity patterns. Since Lethbridge is a small city and provides an inexpensive public transit system, all areas of the city are easily accessible. The rearrangement of activity patterns that may have resulted could have been considered minor, inconvenience being the major problem. However, small shifts in distance to shopping facilities for the elderly may have been serious. The greatest hardship experienced as a result of relocation and the rearrangement of activities was the breakdown of social ties and the increased distance to the CBD. Because the relocatees were forced from the inner core, a move almost anywhere in the city would have increased distance from the CBD. Moreover, the displacement of friends and neighborhoods resulted in a lessening of social contact and restricted a form of entertainment that was prevalent for many years.

To discover the effects of relocation on activity patterns, the respondents were asked to indicate whether distances to certain activities had changed after relocation. Table 4.18 presents the results of these changes.

TABLE 4.18 - CHANGES IN DISTANCE OF ACTIVITY PATTERNS

Activity	Closer percent	Further percent	Same percent	Not Applicable percent
Work	7	25	14	54
Shopping (food)	7	33	60	-
Church	9	28	20	33
Recreation	2	40	-	58
Friends	4	49	47	-

The people who experienced increased distances in their journey to work after relocation found the increase not unbearable. Increased distances in a city the size of Lethbridge did not create as severe a problem as is possible in larger cities. Moreover, the added inconvenience and costs incurred were only marginal.

Grocery shopping was the most easily adaptable activity due to a variety of stores accessible throughout the city. Inconvenience was again only marginal while the greatest hardships were experienced by the elderly who frequently purchased general goods and services in the CBD. No other commercial area offered the variety of merchandise, particularly inexpensive items, as the downtown. An important aspect of downtown shopping, particularly for the senior citizens, was the stroll through the various shops to browse through the selection of

of goods and chat with friends. The disruption of this activity was perhaps the most severe hardship incurred in the rearrangement of shopping behavior.

The category of recreational activity was perceived by many of the respondents to mean an activity that involved physical participation such as lawn bowling. Consequently, many people did not respond to this question since certain recreational activities were not considered physical. Many viewed recreation as simply playing cards with friends or conversation over a cup of coffee. Nevertheless, about 40 percent of the respondents indicated that the distance to recreation activities had increased. Again, an important factor which contributed to this activity was linked to the downtown. The interaction among residents within individual apartment buildings was also an important recreational activity which was destroyed because of redevelopment.

There was considerable interaction among the residents of the renewal site and moreso with friends in the downtown and adjoining residential areas. Relocation disrupted an important aspect of daily activity, the social interaction with friends. Nearly, half of the respondents indicated distance from friends had increased which resulted in a loss or decrease of social interaction[20]. It is noteworthy to point out that perhaps the two year adjustment period after relocation was not sufficient to develop strong social

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[20] Difficulties arose in the respondents interpretation of distance. An individual who owned an automobile would not have perceived increased distance in the same way as a less mobile person.

relationships. Moreover, the type of dwellings the relocatees moved into were not conducive to the development of strong social ties within the present neighborhood. The former neighborhood consisted of apartment blocks, boarding homes and other rooms in converted houses. They were closely linked physically, a factor which made social interaction easily possible. For the most part, relocation did not allow for the same type of social interaction to occur or at least not in the two year period after eviction. This factor affected the attitudes which developed concerning present neighborhoods.

Attitudes of Relocatees

Comparison of attitudes before and after relocation and the level of satisfaction of a new neighborhood may have changed with time and reflected the readiness of households to adapt to change.

To relocate successfully, that is, overcome financial, emotional and sociological problems, the readiness of an individual prior to eviction is important[21]. But what is readiness and how does one prepare to meet this end? Fried states:

> "preparation for social change in coping with forced relocation may be manifest in objective indices of status, in social orientations...in conceptions of the world outside...the community, or in personality resources which facilitate adaptations to change."[22]

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[21] M. Fried. op. cit., pp. 90-93

[22] Ibid.

It seems that the ability to adapt to a new environment signifies an ability to utilize the wider range of options offered by the community at large.

> "Objective improvements, whether in residential status or in household density, or in the other living conditions, are clearly more frequently associated with satisfaction for those who were ready to use the relocation situation as an opportunity for an increased range of choices."[23]

Important to this is the willingness to relinquish the pattern of social interaction, which is the ultimate manifestation of preparedness for transition. Without a willingness to utilize potential options, the result inevitably leads to adjustment behavior that cannot be considered successful[24].

The level of satisfaction for the people forced from homes was difficult to measure. The high rate of disfavor among the senior citizens reflected the length of residency in the neighborhood and the subsequent satisfaction found from living in a territory based on their strong sense of identity to local places, and close association among local people[25]. Fried found that prerelocation

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[23] Ibid.

[24] See V. Hole, "Social Effects of Planned Rehousing," Town Planning Review, Vol. 30, 1959, pp. 161-173.

[25] M. Fried, and P. Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum." Journal of American Institute Planners, Vol. 27, 1961, pp. 305-315.

orientation to the communal area as a whole and to specific roles and relationships within the area was critical for relocation readiness.

> "The greater the familiarity with the world outside the immediate community, the more clear the perception of social and spatial dimensions of the universe beyond the physical and psychological boundaries...the larger the proportion who experienced relocation with both satisfaction and happiness."[26]

Fried found less than one third of the respondents were both satisfied and happy after relocation which indicates the small proportion of the population ready for the transition. Moreover, Boston's West End had a significant working class population where hypothetically, relocation can be conceived as an opportunity for change, for assimilation, and for social mobility for those who internalize these opportunities as part of the individuals adaptational potential. Such opportunities do not function as well for the elderly poor who seek only the desire to belong. Hence, the organization of social relations through closely knit networks is a primary component of social integration and also, the primary focus of disruption when the community is rapidly destroyed because of rapid social change, that is forced relocation.

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[26] M. Fried. op. cit., p. 90.

Change, as defined by Fried, involves not merely the development of new patterns of behavior and orientation:

> "the acceptance of change requires a process of undoing, of giving up the past, of relinquishing previous modes of adaptation."[27]

If such acceptance is not successful, the tendency for increased rates of mental illness arises particularly under conditions of rapid abruptive change. Results from epidemiological analysis on migration and mental disorder converge on the observation that

(1) situations of heightened conflict between individual patterns of adaptation and social expectation increase the rates of mental hospitalization

(2) this effect is particularly noticeable in the absence of reliable, external forces for modifying the impact of the transition experience[28].

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[27] M. Fried, "Effects of Social Change on Mental Health." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. Vol. 34. January 1964. pp. 3-28. See also, H. Gans, "Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning." Journal of the American Institute of Planners. Vol. 25. February 1959. pp. 15-25; and C. Hartman, "The Limitations of Public Housing:Relocation Choices in a Working Class Community." Journal of the American Institute of Planners. Vol. 29. November 1963, pp. 283-296.

[28] M. Fried, op. cit., p. 16.

Despite manifest housing improvements and an increased range of options, the transition from a solidary and cohesive community most frequently involves too large a demand for an individual[29].

In the present study, the attitudes towards the relocation process changed for some respondents following the two year adjustment period. For those who increased their level of well being by moving to a pleasant neighborhood or the like, the attitude towards relocation was favorable. However, some may have intensified their negative feelings about their relocation. Those who were not able to find suitable accommodation, who experienced substantial increases in rent, and who lost the contact of many friends and activities, developed attitudes of hostility towards the city and the relocation process.

TABLE 4.19 - COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS RELOCATION

Level of Satisfaction	Percent of total formerly percent	presently percent
strongly disliked having to move	37	21
somewhat disliked having to move	44	30
indifferent	12	12
somewhat pleased at having to move	7	25
very pleased at having to move	-	12

[29] Ibid.

Table 4.19 indicates that the vast majority of the respondents had negative attitudes of varying degrees towards relocation when it first occurred. The two year adjustment period after relocation evidenced the greatest change in attitude from negative to positive although half of those interviewed still maintained an unfavorable attitude towards relocation.

Of the 81 percent who had negative feelings about moving prior to eviction, 48 percent were senior citizens. Of these, 35 percent maintained their negative attitude two years after eviction. It seems that feelings of grief as a result of the destruction of neighborhood ties was most severe for the elderly. Moreover, adaptability seems to be more difficult for the elderly which may reflect the power of sentiment within the social structure of the neighborhood. Although 35 percent of the senior citizens were unhappy about relocation and 32 percent disliked their present neighborhood, 55 percent of the senior citizens stated conditions of their present residence were better than previously and 20 percent indicated conditions were no different. This indicates that the power of social ties is of greater importance than the physical conditions of dwelling space.

SUMMARY

The residents who were forced from their homes because of redevelopment encountered hardships in the actual transition and in the adjustment of their present living environment. The analysis of the data indicate that the costs incurred in relocation negatively affected the well being of many of the relocatees and that many of

the difficulties were caused by the lack of efficient and effective planning.

Benefits in relocation were mainly derived for the homeowners. Upon receiving fair compensation for their former property they were able to purchase or rent accommodation as good or better than that which they formerly owned. However, tenants who were relocated, incurred more serious costs. Most importantly, rents increased substantially as a greater percentage of an individual's income was directed towards housing. This factor was particularly severe for the elderly who were on fixed incomes. Moreover, many of the elderly relocated at substantially increased distances from the CBD. It was noted that the downtown area was one of the main factors for residing in the former neighborhood, a place where social familiarity and browsing through stores was a common element in every day life. In general, the activity patterns of many of the relocatees had changed but increased distances were only marginal. But the difficulty incurred by an elderly person who had experienced only small increases in distance to various activities may have been more severe than that of a younger person.

The results of the data indicate that although approximately half of the respondents had experienced improvements in facilities in their present households, many had maintained a negative attitude towards their present environment. This is attributed to defensive feelings toward a former neighborhood which was considered home. The ability to adjust to a new environment and relinquish the pattern of

life of the former neighborhood was most difficult for the elderly. It was also found that both the elderly and those under the age of 65 were confused and uncertain about the events surrounding relocation. Not only was the relocation plan difficult to understand for many relocatees, but the city too, was obscure in providing a definite staging plan. Timing of relocation, the selection of relocatees to be assisted, the lack of support in locating alternative housing, and the delay of financial assistance only further enhanced the confusion of the relocatees.

The reader is again cautioned of the data limitations concerning residential relocation. A proper before and after comparison of each household was not possible and moreover, the results are only a segment of the total population affected by relocation.

Although relocation created benefits for some, the costs which were incurred by the majority of the displaced population indicate that relocation in small communities is worthy of further study. Not only were some negative consequences evident in the Lethbridge relocation program, but the degree of severity for some effects may have been comparable to results of relocation studies in large cities.

Chapter V

BUSINESS RELOCATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes business relocation in the Lethbridge Urban Renewal Project. An attempt was made to analyze the ability of commercial and industrial businesses to withstand the disruptive effects of change and to evaluate the impact redevelopment has had on present business activities. Attention was also given to the spatial distribution pattern which resulted because of displacement and the effect this rearrangement of business functions may have had on the commercial structure of the community.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF BUSINESS IN URBAN RENEWAL

Public officials view the problems of business relocation in urban renewal differently from the small businessman. Urban renewal is considered a program of improvement for the community as a whole whereas the businessman is involved only to the extent that his personal interests are affected. Circumstances, particular to each renewal scheme and business type are important in establishing why particular businesses relocate successfully. For example, a small

business operated by an elderly individual may be only marginally successful, that is, "barely making enough profit to keep in business."[1] If such a person is forced to relocate and possibly absorb relocation costs and increased rents in a new location, the unexpected financial burden may be too severe. In addition, the emotional strain of starting business activities anew may also be trying. It may be easier to sell the business and possibly work elsewhere. The costs incurred by larger businesses or those connected with larger organizations may also be extensive. However, the availability of economic and human resources can frequently offset unexpected expenses with little difficulty.

Under the Alberta Housing Act, neither the provincial or municiapal governments are legally bound to assist, financially or otherwise, businesses that have been forced to relocate because of public projects[2]. However, the question might well be asked, should financial assistance be made available for relocating commercial establishments? It is essential that the effects of business relocation for those forced to relocate and for the community in general be revealed. If the problems encountered are

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[1]J.L.B. Berry, S.J. Parsons, and R.H. Platt. "The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Businesses," op cit. p. 182.

[2]This was formerly the case but businesses under the proposed Alberta Act, Section 46(1), may claim losses under disturbance damages. Both the tenant and the owner are entitled to compensation damages although the tenant's disturbance damages are computed having regard to certain considerations such as the length of the term of the lease, and nature of business activities. J.J. Broda, Review of Expropriation and Compensation Principles, Technical Working Paper No. 1. Resource Economics Branch, Department of Agriculture, 1973,pp 43-45.

undesirable and if they continue to be evidenced as a constant occurrence in urban renewal, it may be necessary to reassess government policy concerning business relocation in an attempt to minimize the negative consequences.

Success Rate

Previous studies have indicated that about 25 percent of the business firms affected by redevelopment have not survived and approximately one third of these failures need not have occurred[3]. Although the survival rate for businesses affected by displacement varies with individual projects and the definition of what constitutes an excessive rate of business closures is not clear, the fact remains that business relocation encounters difficulties.

The Lethbridge Centre Redevelopment Project forced 38 business outlets from their premises, 23 of which remain in operation. The liquidation rate for this project was 40 percent which according to previous studies was high. Table 5.1 indicates that the businesses which survived eviction were small service establishments. The majority were retail oriented and employed a minimal staff, while 6 outlets were related to industrial or transportation activities. Of the 23 business operations 10 were independent owners. Of the survivors 14 had occupied business premises in the renewal area for more than 10 years and only 2 businesses owned the property on which they were formerly located. This low rate of property ownership may partially explain the reason why few of the businesses were contacted by the city concerning the relocation process.

TABLE 5.1 - CHARACTERISTICS OF RELOCATED BUSINESSES, 1975

Business Name	Type	Ownership	Number of Employees (over 5)	Tenure 0-10 years	10 years or more
Lethbridge Sash & Door Factory	Industrial	Independent	✓	✓	✓
Electric Shaver Repair	Service Retail	Independent		✓	✓
Yarn Barn	Retail	Independent		✓	✓
Doug's Music & Sports	Retail	Independent		✓	✓
Farmer Stockman's Supply	Retail	Branch		✓	✓
Fashion Barber Shop	Service	Independent		✓	✓
Pacific Finance Credit	Service	Branch		✓	✓
Campbell & Haliburton	Service	Independent		✓	✓
Baxter's Book Store	Retail	Independent		✓	✓
M & K Auto Enterprises Ltd	Retail Service	Independent	✓	✓	
Jen's Uniform Centre	Retail	Independent		✓	✓
Horne & Pitfield Foods	Wholesale	Branch	✓	✓	✓
Canadian Freightways Ltd	Transport	Branch	✓	✓	
Fernie Cartage	Transport	Independent	✓	✓	
Alberta Dairy Pool	Industrial	Branch	✓	✓	✓
Freel Sheet Metal	Industrial	Independent		✓	✓

TABLE 5.1 Continued...

Business Name	Type	Ownership	Number of Employees (over 5)	Tenure 0-10 years	10 years or more
Audson's Optical Ltd	Wholesale	Independent		✓	✓
Alberta Beautician & Barber Supples	Wholesale	Independent		✓	✓
Roy's Confectionary	Retail	Independent		✓	✓
Elna White Sewing Center	Retail	Branch		✓	✓
Chinook Outdoor Sales	Retail	Independent		✓	
Pruegger's Music	Retail	Independent		✓	
Jubilee Gospel Supplies	Retail	Independent		✓	
P.M. Hoot Enterprises	Service	Independent		✓	✓

Sources: Information Lethbridge, Henderson's Directory - Lethbridge, and field work.

TABLE 5.2 - CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NON-SURVIVING BUSINESSES, 1972

Business Name	Type	Ownership	Tenure	
			0-10 years	10 years or more
Lethbridge Building Supplies	Industrial	Independent	✓	
John's Motor Clinic	Service	Independent	✓	
Bestway T.V. & Appliance	Retail	Independent		✓
Independent Meat Market	Retail	Independent	✓	
Perlux Dry Cleaners	Service	Independent		✓
Doreen's Beauty Salon	Service	Independent	✓	
Soutland Distributors	Service	Independent	✓	
Wilkins Lloyd Agencies	Service	Independent	✓	
Lylers' Auto Shop	Service	Independent	✓	
Chinook Paint & Body Shop	Service	Independent		✓
Bridge City Petroleum Distributors	Wholesale	Independent	✓	
P.M. Hoot Enterprises	Service	Independent		✓
Disposal Services Ltd.	Service	Independent	✓	
Shoe Clinic	Service	Independent		✓

Sources: Information Lethbridge, Henderson's Directory - Lethbridge, and field work.

The business which did not survive eviction were primarily service enterprises many of which employed minimal staff. (See Table 5.2) Although the 40 percent closure rate for the businesses in the Lethbridge Centre Project appeared high, the relationship between relocation and closure was not clear. Because none of the business owners who had ceased operations were available for interview it was difficult to assess the impact of redevelopment on the closure of business operations. This aspect would have been useful to this study and should be considered a necessary objective of the relocation process. In the Lethbridge project, it was assumed that redevelopment forces businesses to consider future possibilities immediately and therefore, prompted decisions to be made earlier than what might have originally been planned.

Three of the surviving businesses evidenced distinct circumstances[4]. (1) Jubilee Gospel Supplies relocated on the outer fringe of the central core and later sold the operation. The former owners left the province and were consequently not available for interview. It was discovered however, that the exchange of business ownership was not related to relocation but rather to external forces which prompted the former owner to move; (2) Pruegger's Accordion College operated their business functions from two premises,

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[3] Urban Renewal Concept Report, op. cit. p. 79.

[4] Information concerning this section was obtained in communication with the owners and managers of the particular businesses discussed.

a major store and an additional business. The latter establishment was located in the renewal area. When forced to relocate, the owners expanded their major store which was located in Phase II of the Lethbridge Redevelopment Scheme, (See Figure 5.1) rather than relocate the secondary store. This expansion was considered prior to redevelopment but renewal prompted the final decision. (3) Lethbridge Sash and Door was an industrial firm employing over 10 people. Because of urban renewal, the owners took advantage of profits made from the sale of property and sold the business operations finalizing a decision which was previously under consideration.

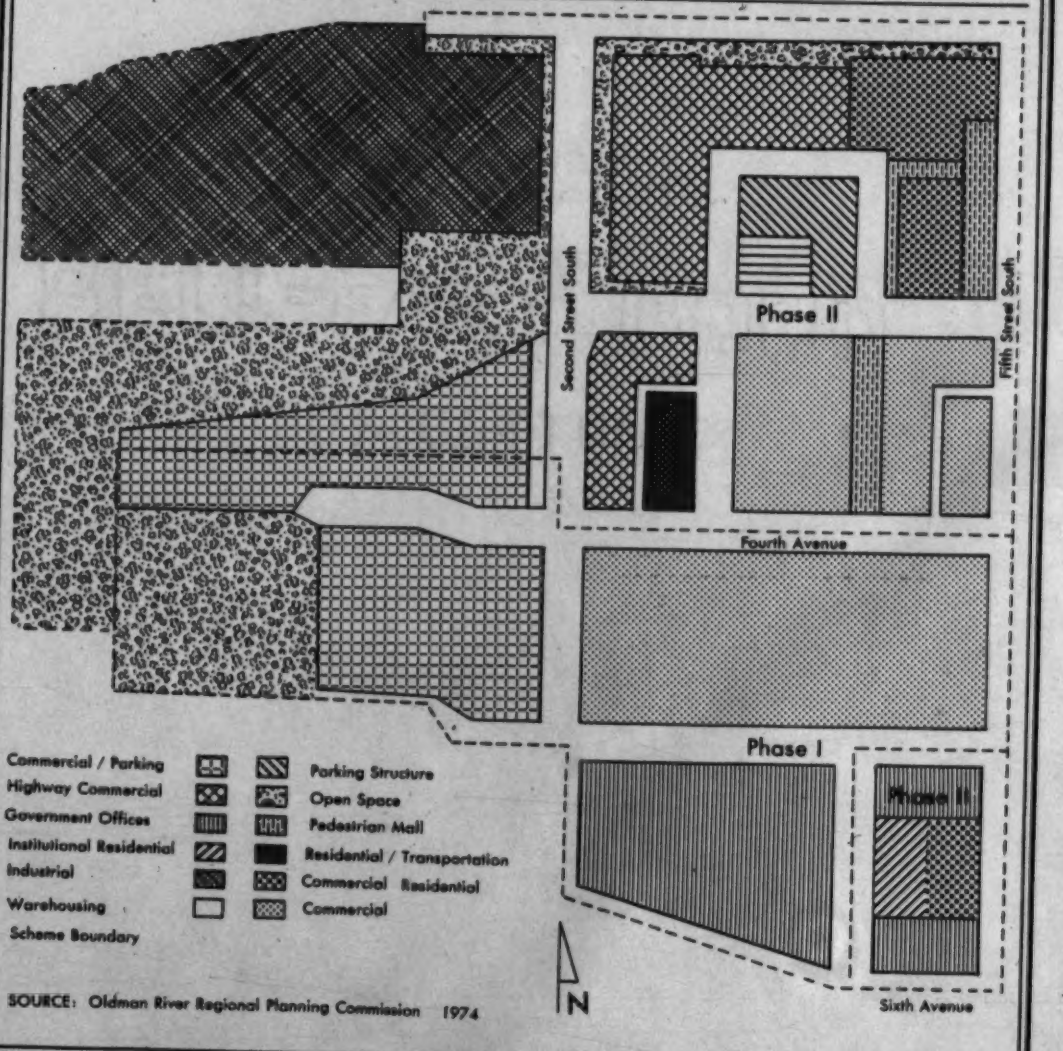
Relocation Pattern

Figure 5.2 indicates that the majority of businesses relocated in the CBD. As noted in Chapter III, the CBD was declining as the major commercial district in the city. An indicator of this decline was the high number of commercial vacancies in the downtown. The smaller businesses which relocated took advantage of the available space and maintained good location in the process. The businesses which relocated along the major arterials specified accessibility as the prime reason for choosing their present business site. Although none of the businesses occupied premises of poor quality, those which relocated along the main arteries occupied relatively new buildings. These commercial establishments were of the one stop service type, that is, businesses which offered a particular service and would not benefit from complementary service functions. Industry

Figure 5.1

CITY OF LETHBRIDGE

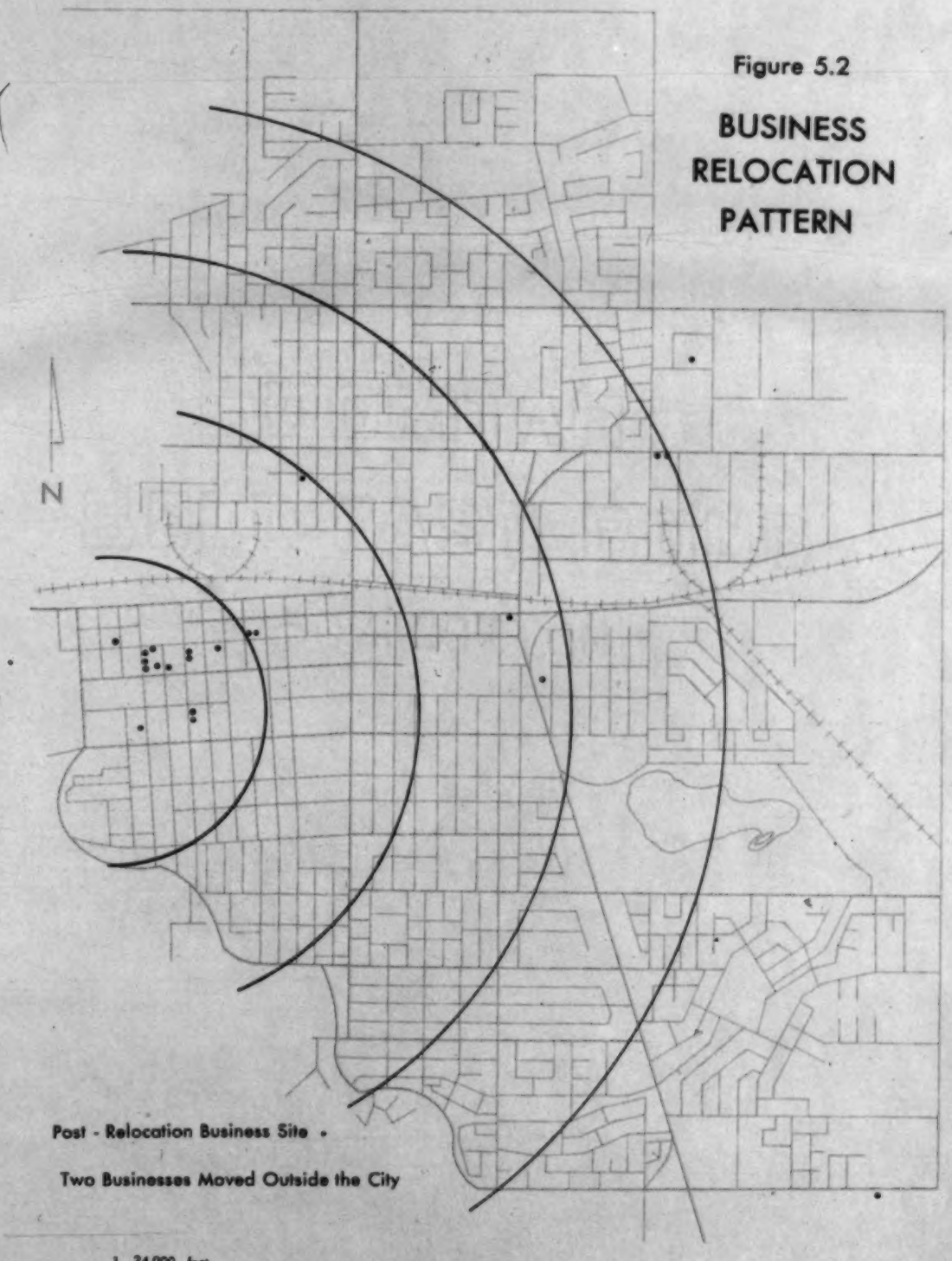
DOWNTOWN REDEVELOPMENT SCHEME PHASES I AND II



SOURCE: Oldman River Regional Planning Commission 1974

Figure 5.2

BUSINESS RELOCATION PATTERN



chose to relocate in the industrial parks and consequently alleviated the problem of mixed land uses in various sections of the downtown.

Zimmer found that the central city tended to retain a high disproportionate number of the smaller relocated businesses[5]. He also noted that the larger businesses tended to move to the suburbs where the possibility of land ownership was available. Although his former observation was evidenced in Lethbridge, the latter was not. The majority of the retail stores were small and therefore large premises were not necessary. Moreover, none of the service outlets could afford to purchase commercial land particularly when much of the land zoned for commercial use was owned by relatively few developers[6]. Commercial space which was available in and around the CBD and along commercial arterials met the requirements the tenants demanded. The only firm able to purchase property was Canadian Freightway, a large trucking firm. Property was purchased in the industrial park and new premises were built with the intention of expanding future business activities.

None of the businesses relocated in the Woodwards Mall, the Lethbridge Centre Project. This would indicate that the displaced businesses did not want to wait for the completion of the mall or, that rents in the mall were beyond the financial means of the small

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[5] B. Zimmer, op. cit. p. 386.

[6] This is a commonly known fact which was substantiated by the Oldman River Regional Planning Commission and also Stringham Realty.

commercial establishments, or, that the displaced businesses were excluded by the Woodwards Mall as being appropriate tenants.

Horne and Pitfield Foods Ltd., a major food wholesaler, relocated in Phase II of the Lethbridge Redevelopment Project Area[7]. This was the second move for the company and a third move would eventually occur because of its present location. Some financial return must have been available to this corporation but the type of benefit and the reasoning behind the decision was considered confidential by the firm.

Zimmer noted that considerable losses were experienced by the city because of the displacement of commercial and industrial establishments[8]. Such losses resulted because of the changing distribution of functions within the community and the movement of business to the suburbs. This phenomenon was not evidenced in the Lethbridge Project. Firstly, Lethbridge is a relatively small city and therefore, the move of a few businesses to the suburbs does not offset the numerous commercial establishments that were built in the project site. Secondly, the majority of businesses relocated within the downtown which helped alleviate the problem of vacancies in the CBD. Consequently, the CBD gained considerably in business firms and

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[7]The present study is concerned with redevelopment in Phase I of the Lethbridge Project. Phase II is the section of the CBD immediately north of Phase I. No date has been set for the beginning of this third phase nor is there a specific plan for the project.

[8]B. Zimmer, op. cit. p. 400.

consumer potential. Moreover, redevelopment partially solved the problem of mixed land uses in the central area. Whether a change in the distribution of functions results is purely speculative. It is expected however, that because a third major shopping mall has been developed within the past six years and only marginal population growth for the City has been evidenced, one of the three major shopping areas or perhaps a combination of the three will experience decline in sales. In this area of consumer behavior the potential exists for future research which would certainly be relevant to city authorities in Lethbridge and those in other urban centres who may experience over-expansion of commercial development.

Time Delays

Various delays in carrying out the process of displacement and relocation in urban renewal have caused additional strain on business activities and have consequently caused some businesses to cease operations[9]. Most delays are the direct result of inefficient planning by public officials, a prospect which relocation planning cannot afford. In Lethbridge, the official notice of eviction was presented to the relocatees six months prior to eviction. Although 51 percent of the respondents knew of redevelopment and the subsequent relocation at least one year prior to eviction, businesses did not attempt the search for alternative business locations until the official notice of eviction was received. Seventy-eight percent

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[9] J.L.B. Berry, S.J. Parsons, and R.H. Platt, op. cit. p. 180.

of the respondents stated that the prescribed time to secure alternate business premises was sufficient. Moreover, 83 percent of the respondents indicated they were happy with their new locations and this same percentage found business sales to be as high or higher than before relocation. The National Federation of Independent Business conducted a survey of business relocation and found similar results in business improvement after relocation.

> ..."despite the difficulties encountered by those who had completed their moves, and despite the move: (a) a significant number of firms which had completed their moves (60 percent) reported incomes as great or greater than that in their old locations."[10]

Delays in Reopening Business Activities

The time lapse between closing and reopening business operations after relocation was minimal[11]. Seventy-two percent of the respondents reopened for business within 1 week and 22 percent needed approximately one month in which to complete the transition. The time delay was directly related to the type and quantity of merchandise which needed to be moved. Since the majority of businesses were small service and retail outlets, the time delay was minimal. It is noteworthy that 89 percent of the respondents were not planning to move their business premises prior to knowledge of redevelopment while 11 percent had considered the possibility.

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[10] Ibid. p. 188.

[11] H. Gans, R. Saperstein, and W.N. Kinnard, have noted that the time lapse between first announcement and actual acquisition of property may be between 10-15 years as evidenced in their studies.

Decline in Retail Sales

Crucial to the problem of business relocation is the initial decline in sales that resulted because of relocation. Table 5.3 indicates that about 56 percent of the respondents did experience such decline.

TABLE 5.3 - DECLINE IN RETAIL SALES

	Businesses Experiencing Decline	
Time In Months	Percent	Number
0	43	9
1	19	4
2	11	2
3	11	2
4	-	-
5	-	-
6	5	1
7	11	2

*Data for Tables 5.3 to 5.6 were obtained from the business questionnaire survey carried out by the author in 1975.

Although decline in retail sales was evident for a majority of the businesses, the decline was minimal and temporary. Despite this initial loss in retail sales, 83 percent of the businesses indicated that they are more successful now than prior to relocation. It should be noted that 28 percent of the retail outlets experienced a change in the type of merchandise, an opportunity made possible

because of relocation. This factor may have contributed to increased success in business sales. Although the businesses were initially displeased with relocation, it may have been "a blessing in disguise."[12]

Costs of Relocation

The cost of relocation was dependent on the type of merchandise which was moved and the alterations that were necessary at the present business site. Table 5.4 indicates that major expenses were the result of improvements made and facilities added to the new business premises. The cost of moving was minimal in most cases since merchandise and business facilities were easily relocated by the business employees.

TABLE 5.4 - RELOCATION COSTS

Costs In Dollars	Businesses Experiencing Costs Percent	Number
0	11	2
0-100	11	2
100-500	17	3
500-1000	-	-
1000-2000	17	3
2000-5000	22	4
greater than 5000	17	3
no response	5	1
		18 Total

[12] See J.R. Lowe, Cities in a Race With Time, New York: Random House, 1967, pp. 460-461.

TABLE 5.5 - RELOCATION COSTS AND TYPE OF OWNERSHIP

Cost In Dollars	Ownership: Independent Percent	Independent Number	Branch Percent	Branch Number
0	-	-	-	-
1-100	5	1	5	1
100-500	17	3	-	-
500-1000	17	3	-	-
1000-2000	5	1	17	3
2000-5000	5	1	11	2
greater than 5000	11	2	5	1
		13		7
			Total 20	

Table 5.5 indicates that the majority of independent businesses incurred expenses in relocation, however, the costs experienced were less than $1000. The businesses which were a part of a larger organization evidenced expenses of greater than $1000. Larger businesses and industrial firms required expernal help in relocation and consequently, incurred greater expenses in moving. Moreover, the larger firms may have purposely incurred greater expenses through the use fof external help and used this as a tax deduction. This facet was directly related to the availability of financial resources. Small firms did not have the resources to offset unexpected costs and relocation was frequently carried out and financed by the small business owners.

Changes in Rent

Businesses usually experience increased rents after relocation, particularly when displacement occurs from the most deteriorated commercial districts of a city[13]. Although businesses refused to indicate the monthly rent paid for use of commercial space, all the respondents experienced increases[14]. The range of rental increase as cited by various business spokesmen and in unofficial and general terms, varied from 30 percent to 60 percent. It was difficult to determine an average increase in monetary terms since rents for small corner shops would be considerably different from the rent paid by a large industrial firm. What is critical to this rate of rent increase is that a 30 percent increase to a marginal business would have been serious enough to result in closure of business operations.

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[13]Relocatees find that rents are on the average nearly double those paid in blighted areas, J.L.B. Berry, op. cit. p. 181. Kinnard and Zimmer found increases of only 25 percent. W.N. Kinnard, op. cit. p. 67. B. Zimmer, op. cit. p. 134.

[14]None of the businesses were offered assistance of any kind and some commercial establishments (particularly the large operations) expected none. However, the Lethbridge Herald September 11, 1973 reported that the city was "still endeavoring to physically help some industries relocate at a price they can afford." Such a comment must be viewed with suspicion, a statement put forth by the city to alleviate public pressure.

Changes in Tenure

The costs of relocation for property owners usually differ from those costs incurred by tenants. Berry found that,

> ..."business tenants fare worse than owners of buildings. The latter have close contact with public agencies and generally receive better relocation service and compensation. It is up to the owners of the building to arrange specific details with the agency, which may not be in the interest of the tenant.[15]

Tenants in the Lethbridge project were very much interested in the specific details concerning relocation. This lack of communication between tenants and the City was cited by all the businesses as being the major problem of the relocation process. Contrary to what the City had publically stated, that is, "we (the City) will make every effort to help relocate business activities at a cost they can afford,"[16] the tenants unanimously indicated that the City offered no assistance in relocation.

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[15] B.L.J. Berry, S.J. Parsons, and R.H. Platt, op. cit. p. 181.

[16] "Mayor's Invitation Met With Questions", Lethbridge Herald, September 11, 1973. p. 17.

Only one business establishment that was forced to relocate from the renewal site, owned the property on which it operated. The business was sold as a direct result of redevelopment. The compensation for property received from the City allowed this transaction to take place although the possibility was previously under consideration. Of the tenants who were forced to relocate, 2 businesses changed their tenancy status, and purchased property. Both establishments were larger industrial and wholesaling firms.

Change in Business Facilities

Although increased rents resulted for the business relocatees, this negative factor was met with improvement in facilities. Improvements were evident in various structural and functional aspects of business operations (See Table 5.6).

TABLE 5.6 - CHANGING BUSINESS FACILITIES AFTER RELOCATION

	V.Sat.	Sat. Percent	Unsat.	N/A
Building Condition	50	39	6	6
Design of Building	50	39	6	6
Cost of doing business	39	39	22	-
Location of business	50	44	-	6
Adequacy of parking	28	33	22	17
Adequacy of selling floor space	44	39	-	17
Adequacy of display window	44	28	6	22
Adequacy of loading and shipping facilities	28	39	11	22

The business facilities which were considered unsatisfactory were parking areas and the cost of doing business. However, the majority of respondents indicated that the conditions of their business premises were at least, satisfactory. Hence, it was concluded that location of present business operations was not a major factor in creating business success after relocation but rather that improved business facilities contributed to the high rate of success. The majority of businesses experienced sales as great or greater than that prior to relocation.

Relocation Problems

Business owners and managers tended to be displeased with relocation. Unexpected expenses, inconvenience and decisions made without involvement of those forced to move, explained this attitude. When the owners were asked whether they approved of the methods used in urban renewal and relocation, 83 percent stated in the negative and 11 percent were unsure. Although there was general agreement by businessmen that redevelopment would benefit the city, the major concern of business was the lack of communication and cooperation by city officials which could have resulted in serious implications. Such disregard for cooperation might lead to distruct between public officials and business concerns. Moreover, indications are that the City of Lethbridge may in fact be under dictatorial rule as one owner indicated:

> "We're living in "Little Russia" (Lethbridge). The City can do whatever it feels like and no one is powerful enough to deal with that."

Communication is imperative if the benefits of urban rnnewal are to be assured. If the democratic system of government is to continue, projects such as redevelopment must provide the proper means of achieving objectives through community participation.

Summary

Forced eviction caused an immediate negative attitude towards redevelopment and the relocation process. The relocated businesses which experienced inconvenience in securing an alternative site, added costs of relocation and alteration, and increased rents, developed a hostile attitude towards the city. Moreover, the lack of communication between the business community and the city further accentuated the problem.

Invariably, difficulties in relocation result but some problems may have been avoided, particularly those which surface during the planning stages. In fact, most difficulties encountered in relocation should have been resolved during the planning stages prior to actual relocation. This may have been conceived by simply informing businesses, both tenants and owners, of the present situation concerning available commercial space and the costs involved. The ability of the city to show genuine concern for the inherent difficulties in business relocation must ultimately secure cooperation

and trust between the businesses and the city, although initiative on the part of the businesses is essential in making the transition.

The business relocation in Lethbridge experienced difficulties in the planning stages. They persisted in the minds of the business owners and managers despite the fact that relocation was probably beneficial to their present and future business activities. The businesses which did not survive eviction are also essential to the evaluation of relocation. Attention must be directed towards the problems of all businesses, successful or not, so that a minimal number of closeouts will be experienced in future relocation programs.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

> "By his actions man has created a great laboratory of human settlements in which he is both the research director and the guinea pig."[1]

The present study is an evaluation of the effects of residential and business relocation in urban renewal. The impact of forced change is described in terms of costs and benefits which are based on the experiences of those who were forced to relocate. The manner in which such processes are carried out and the extent to which relocation can fulfill the needs and desires of those who are involved necessarily raise questions concerning social welfare, public policy and planning objectives.

THE PROJECT

The renewal project was undertaken in the City of Lethbridge and was implemented as a project of revitalization in the CBD. The

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[1] C.A. Doxiadis, "A City For Human Development," Ekistics, 25, No. 251, June 1968, p. 380.

redevelopment project demolished a segment of the downtown commercial district as well as part of an inner city neighborhood. The project area, as part of a declining central business district consisted of a variety of mixed land uses, deteriorated physical structures and a decayed neighborhood which housed a substantial single, elderly and low income population. The clearance site constituted possibly the greatest degree of commercial and residential blight in the community, but the degree of deterioration had not attained a dilapidated state. Although physical deterioration was evident, there were advantages for those who lived in the area. The business sector benefitted from the use of centrally located commercial land at relatively low rental rates while residents of the area indicated that social and economic advantages were maximized. Rents were some of the lowest in the community and more importantly proximity to the downtown and familiarity with neighbors within the neighborhood made residency in the area desirable.

The physical conditions of the project site were characteristic of Hoover and Vernon's model of neighborhood evolution[2]. Although the transition stage was not characteristic of the neighborhood, the conversion of old housing to higher density use was evident. As

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[2]E.M. Hoover and R. Vernon, Anatomy of a Metropolis, New York, Doubleday, 1959, pp. 183-198.

indicated by the Lethbridge Urban Renewal Study of 1966, social and physical deterioration in the neighborhood had not yet reached an advanced state. The major problems cited were the abundance of unused land in the inner city and the variety of mixed land uses which created congestion in the downtown. In addition, the study concluded that redevelopment was not a desirable course of action in the CBD. The proposal by the City to redevelop the downtown then, was conceived primarily for the purpose of commercial revitalization.

PROCESS OF RELOCATION

Relocation in urban renewal is in essence managed mobility[3]. It is the deliberate extension of aid, by the community and society as a whole to facilitate social mobility[4]. However, since relocation frequently involves the displacement of neighborhood communities rather than just individuals, resistance to leave their homes is a defence of what is an essential part of their human existance. The result is an inevitable conflict between middle class values and those of the poor.

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[3] J. Bellush and M. Hausknecht. "Relocation and Managed Mobility," in Urban Renewal:People, Politics and Planning, Garden City:Doubleday and Company Inc., 1967, p. 367.

[4] Ibid. p. 367.

The ability to bridge the gap between the counter railing views hinges upon the capabilities of the planning process. The suggestion that planning strategy is the essential component of successful relocation would only be partially true. Various factors including competent personnel, financial support, and cooperation and understanding of those involved would improve the possibility of successful relocation. To fully understand the necessary requirements of relocation. The objectives must not only be proposed for successful rehousing but consideration must be given to the improvement of the quality of life.

Although the relocation program was analyzed in the context of urban renewal, no attempt was made to evaluate the redevelopment project. It is acknowledged however, that the manner in which the City acquired the land within the project site prior to the announcement of redevelopment was well executed. Moreover, a course of action was necessary to revitalize a declining central business district. The effects of redevelopment on the commercial sector of the central city to date have appeared to be beneficial, although detailed supporting data is beyond the scope of this study. If this is true, and the physical result of redevelopment and the renovation of buildings in the surrounding area suggest that it is, the redevelopment project has achieved the objective of downtown revitalization. If on the other hand, the objective of redevelopment also proposed to eliminate blight and provide adequate housing for the displaced population, the project was only marginally successful.

Residential Relocation

The present study is concerned with the physical and social effects of a population forced to relocate because of urban renewal. The physical aspects are viewed from two perspectives: the spatial pattern which occurred because of displacement and the physical, social and emotional costs and benefits which resulted because of the relocation process.

One of the most serious consequences of relocation occurred with the increase in rent of the relocation housing. All of the respondents experienced this increase and a majority of them incurred increases of over 100 percent. The increases were explained by the fact that rents in the project site were probably the lowest in the community where nearly half of the respondents were paying $50.00 per month or less. Since Lethbridge has few areas which exhibit a high degree of deterioration, rehousing occurred in more viable areas where rent was commensurate with conditions of the area.

The seriousness of the rent increase is emphasized by the fact that the majority of the displaced population were senior citizens who received fixed incomes. The majority of the total number of respondents earned less than $450.00 per month. At a time when inflationary prices were evident in the housing market and low vacancy rates for particularly low income accommodation were evident in Lethbridge, a greater percentage of a relocatees income was directed towards housing after relocation.

Improvements in housing conditions were evidenced by the majority of the respondents as few experienced facilities which were less satisfactory than those in their former residence. However, of the responses given to the question dealing with a general assessment of their housing conditions, about half of the respondents indicated they were unhappy with their present environments. This suggests that emotional subjectiveness influenced their attitudes towards their present dwelling while a more objective response was obtained when facilities were compared.

A major factor for maintaining residency in the inner city neighborhood was the proximity to the CBD. By increasing the distance to the CBD, relocation disrupted the link to what the elderly considered a recreational area. This had serious implications since many of the senior citizens in particular, visited the downtown frequently. Shopping, browsing, and meeting with friends played an important role in the lives of these people. Although the increased distances to the CBD for the majority does not appear to be more than an inconvenience, it is difficult to ascertain the detrimental af ect on the activity of the relocatees. Other activities such as shopping and the journey to work did not impose serious hardships. This was due mainly to the accessibility to other shopping areas and the relatively small size of the community which made most areas of the City easily accessible.

Relocation disrupted the relationships established within the renewal site. As one individual indicated people in the same

building could leave their doors open. It was enjoyable to have a neighbor stop in for a conversation or a cup of coffee. Presently, these same individuals rarely see each other and know little of the life style they are leading. The severity of this disruption of social ties can only be fully appreciated by those who experienced it.

Some of the relocatees did experience benefits from relocation such as improvement in the condition of household facilities and in the general quality of neighborhood environment. For those who would eventually enter the new Senior Citizens Home, further positive aspects may yet be derived. The homeowners were also satisfied with the consequences of relocation. A fair compensation was given for property in the renewal site and comfortable homes were purchased after relocation or, accommodation was sought in modern apartment buildings. However, this was the extent of the major improvements incurred from relocation.

The majority of the respondents agreed that redevelopment would benefit the city but initially, renewal and relocation was viewed in a negative manner. While the two-year adjustment period did change the feelings of many relocatees, those who maintained their negative attitudes towards relocation were the poor and elderly. The commitment to the former neighborhood as well as the difficulty in adjusting to forced change was greatest for this segment of the population. Not only does this indicate that relocation is a complex situation to plan for, but that planning for an elderly low income

population necessitates a certain sensitiveness in the formulation of objectives and in the manner in which the relocation process is operationalized.

Business Relocation

The relocation of business establishments resulted in a variety of difficulties for the owners and managers. Of the 40 businesses which were relocated, 23 remain in operation. The businesses which did not survive eviction were small commercial outlets and possibly only marginal, although this assumption is not based on empirical findings since the owners of these establishments could not be located after relocation. Therefore, no direct correlation between redevelopment and the liquidation rate could be determined. It can be assumed however, that redevelopment availed an immediate decision regarding future business activities and that the decision may have arisen at an inopportune time. The high percentage of business close-outs in urban renewal is a major cause of concern in planning research. There is a place for small businesses in the business community and if liquidation should result, redevelopment should not be the major factor in contributing to this settlement.

Relocation for those businesses which were able to survive, was viewed as a successful venture. Although initially redevelopment was considered a detrimental factor to their business functions, attitudes towards relocation changed after the two year adjustment period. Of the surviving businesses, 83 percent experienced consumer sales as great or greater than prior to eviction. All the outlets

incurred increased rents but a majority experienced improved facilities in their present locations.

Business relocation can frequently affect future consumer sales. A well established firm, which encountered relatively low rents for location of prime commercial space would not initially consider relocation as a benefit to business activities. This view was evident by the majority of business owners and managers. However, since the CBD in Lethbridge was experiencing high vacancy rates, good locations particularly for the small businesses were abundant. Industry also found little difficulty in establishing new business premises. The industrial park in the City provided ample space for such land use.

Business relocation appeared to be a blessing in disguise for most of the outlets. Although business sales did initially decrease for some, increase in present consumer sales has offset this temporary decline. A major cost for the majority of businesses was the lack of compensation available to businesses experiencing relocation. Some of the businesses indicated that improvements to their former premises had been made. Such costs and those which were necessary in relocation and in improvement in the new properties contributed to substantial losses. Independent businesses found these costs difficult to contend with while larger companies and chain stores had sufficient financial resources to defray such expenses.

Although the majority of businesses indicated consumer sales were higher than prior to relocation, the majority of owners indicated

their displeasure with the City concerning the procedure of relocation. Although owners of commercial property were contacted by the City, tenants were not consulted at any stage of the renewal program. Yet, the City agreed to help the businesses relocate at a cost they could afford. No such assistance existed. According to the businesses, the high cost of relocating and the lack of communication between the City and the business community were the major problems of the relocation program.

Relocation Problems

The results of the relocation analysis indicate that although benefits were derived for some of the displaced persons, serious costs were also incurred. Many of the problems which the relocatees encountered were caused by the failure of City management to formulate a comprehensive relocation strategy which would have made the transition experience less difficult. This section will emphasize some of the problems with the relocation process and report some of the views of the relocatees during the program. Although this review is not entirely based on the analyses of the data, the attitudes of the relocatees are noteworthy. The emotional subjectiveness in presenting this viewpoint is almost unavoidable and even so the feelings of some relocatees could not be properly reported in a written format. Experiencing the tears, the rejection and the isolation of the elderly bespeaks a heartlessness that would make the splendid new buildings almost a mockery.

The first objective of every renewal project should be the preparation of the people involved in relocation[5]. Information on the residents living in the area, the physical, economic and social conditions of each household, and other pertinent details should be made available through research studies. Such studies should be taken at the preliminary stages of planning and updated prior to eviction. Gorland indicates that:

> "the relocatee should be fully appraised of his rights. It is not sufficient to hand him an informal statement only, but the statement and related should be explained and if necessary re-explained to whatever degree necessary for the particular individual or family to understand."[6]

One of the pertinent details that is essential in a relocation program is a list of available low income housing in the community. No such listing was made in the Lethbridge relocation project. Furthermore, there existed a general lack of information concerning relocation procedures as "tenants were mislead to believe," when they were to move[7]. This created confusion and frustration among the residents in the renewal site. Decisions were made without

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[5] E. Gorland, Urban Renewal Administration, op.cit.pp. 72.

[6] Ibid.

[7] "Pensioners Concerned At Urban Renewal," Lethbridge Herald, December 15, 1973, p. 23.

consultation of those who were victims of forced change. The result was a disgruntled attitude:

> I don't think the city treated us fairly in moving us out of our homes..."we had to sign the papers on the 30th of June [stating] we'd be out in one month... we had no recourse, no nothing."[8]

While surveys were undertaken in the area by such people from the Public Health Agency, intrusion of privacy without an explanation of the results of the survey only heightened the level of anxiety. As one man indicated:

> "too damn many people are telling us what's wrong with our houses - but no-one has asked what we want."[9]

A perplexity in the relocation program was the selection of people who were to be assisted of the 90 households evicted, 18 people were given assistance in locating alternative recommendation. This initial move after eviction was only to be temporary since these relocatees were given the opportunity to eventually move into the newly constructed senior citizens home on completion. Other

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8 "City Considers Rent Subsidies," Lethbridge Herald, December 15, 1973, p. 26.

9 "Pensioners Concerned At Urban Renewal," Lethbridge Herald, November 17, 1972, p. 21.

relocatees were considered financially secure to relocate without external assistance. This issue is questionable when one considers that the objective of relocation is to find safe and decent housing for those displaced because of public projects. The authorities in Lethbridge attempted to assist only those in the worst economic situation. Admirable as the intention to give priority to the neediest sector of the population is, it is doubtful that its implementation could be considered fair. No matter how the task of assessing need is executed, the results will appear to be arbitrary, not objective. Furthermore, need cannot be satisfactorily defined by economics alone. Need encompasses intangibles such as aesthetics, association and accessibility.

The proposal to the Provincial Government for a Senior Citizen's Home which would have provided rehousing for a select few of the relocatees, encountered delays in finalizing acceptance. Because this application to the Government was the major rehousing project for relocatees, temporary accommodation was not carried out efficiently or effectively. The relocatees waited two years in temporary dwellings which were of lesser quality than previous dwellings in the renewal site. Relocation to dwellings of substandard quality combined with the increased anxiety in waiting for entrance to the Senior Citizen's Home, is not a desirable means to achieve the objective of rehousing. Moreover, because many of the senior citizens were in doubt about the type of home that was going to be

built, they were fearful of the life style that would result. This occurred because the city was unsure of the type of housing which would best suit the needs of the community. Senior citizens did not want a regimented life style. They preferred to have facilities which would allow them to care for themselves.

Although the two year wait for entrance to the Home may not seem to be a great length of time, it was substantial for the elderly. As one senior citizen stated, "I'm 69 years old, I hope I make it."[10]

The people who were offered rental subsidies by the city (funds were obtained from the Provincial Government) were forced to remain in their temporary dwellings until completion of the Senior Citizen's Home, at which time they were to be permitted occupancy. Rents in the Home were to be based according to what the residents could afford. If the relocatees had moved to alternative dwellings during their temporary relocation residence, the subsidy which partially fulfilled the increased rents as a result of displacement would have been forfeited. This stipulation in the provision of financial assistance was proposed by the City as a precautionary measure. Rental subsidies were fixed to a particular dwelling to avoid the constant readjustment of subsidies which would have resulted had the relocatees moved from place to place.

Although the city's desire to maintain the total rental

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10 "Jack Kelly Tells His Side of the Woodwards Evacuation," Lethbridge Herald, September 26, 1973, p. 30.

subsidy at a minimum is a commendable act of economic restraint, it is doubtful that such proposals are desirable when they restrict individual freedom.

An aspect of the relocation plan which further enhanced the lack of confidence the relocatees had for the city was the delay of rent subsidies which were promised by the community. Eviction occurred in June 1973, and it was not until January 1974, that the subsidies were available. Further confusion resulted when the city had suggested that they would change the method of providing assistance. Instead of offering the 18 people in the worst economic condition a rent subsidy and eventually permitting them entry into the Senior Citizen's Home, the city contemplated formulating a lottery draw. Those fortunate enough to be drawn in the lottery would have received the benefit of entering the Central Tower. Those who were originally promised entry to the Home were apprehensive of the final decision which would have inhibited their entrance to the Home.

Although none of the pensioners were destitute nor did any claim to be, one individual, after paying his increased rent was left with $80.00 per month for all other expenses[11]. This situation understandably created feelings of insecurity. When this individual along with others protested because they were not given their rent

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[11] "Reluctant to do the Right Thing," Lethbridge Herald, December 21, 1973, p. 19.

subsidy for 5 months, the city offered a food hamper, and the promise that the subsidy would soon be available retroactive to December 1, 1975[12]. Although the gesture by the city was charitable, the individual was upset. He did not want to be considered a charity case. "We only went after them because it was something they [city] promised us even before we moved[13]. The excuse for the delay of rent subsidy issued by the city was that, "in Edmonton, the matter of rent subsidies...got bogged down in red tape."[14] It seems that the total rent subsidy for these 18 people ($516.00 per month) was too much for the city to provide in light of the fact that the property on which these people lived was sold to Woodwards Limited for nearly $1 million[15].

Indecision and the lack of foresight and information created confusion among relocatees to the extent that it affected these people mentally and physically. In one situation, a man fought the city in court in an attempt to stop clearance of his property. The city had offered him a fair deal but this evidently was not enough. Within a week of his relocation, he died. His wife insisted that the city had killed her husband. Another woman had increased in mental instability to such an extent that the city asked that an interview

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12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Data obtained from discussion with the Director of Social and Economic Development in the City of Lethbridge.

not be conducted with her. According to a friend of hers, the unstable woman was phoning frequently to inquire when she would be able to move into the Central Tower. She may have been unstable, but evidently she was aware of the situation and anxious because of it. It is difficult to assess whether these cases of mental illness are directly caused by redevelopment and relocation. It does seem however, that many of the people blamed these occurrences on relocation.

The intentions of relocation are to maximize benefits and minimize costs, a task difficult to achieve unless proper planning procedures are implemented. This study has analyzed the effects of residential and business relocation in an urban renewal project. Although costs are inherent in any relocation program, the procedures used in the present study created many unnecessary hardships. The major cause for concern was the lack of communication between the city and those forced to relocate. To successfully achieve planning objectives in any program communication between government and private sectors is essential. This factor must not be neglected for the sake of expediency.

It is essential that relocation programs are operationalized according to a comprehensive planning strategy. The effects of relocation may be serious enough without further complications created by ineffective planning.

However, further improvements in relocation planning seem

doubtful. Factors beyond the control of relocation officials, the most crucial being the lack of low rental accommodation in the housing market, will force relocation to operate in a segregated and highly restricted housing market. There needs to be a change in the priorities concerning the objectives of redevelopment. Niebanck states:

> "We seem to have reached a juncture where relocation as it is presently constituted, and when at its best, had adopted most of the basic improvements that are possible within its general purview. To be sure, marginal benefits can still be made. Among other things, financial benefits can be raised, social services can be expanded, and all relocation programs can be made uniform... On the other hand, were the program reconstituted and elevated to a position of priority importance in the redevelopment process, it might...provide real opportunity to the urban poor..."[16]

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This study has provided a descriptive analysis of the effects of relocation in urban renewal. Although the area of study is not new to planning research the type of city in which the survey was undertaken is of a kind not frequently examined in geographic

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[16] P.L. Niebanck, op. cit. p. 27.

literature. Small cities in Canada, their evolution, stability and growth potential, are not characteristic of large cities in Canada or the United States. At a time when attention is being concentrated in few large cities, there is a need to examine the conditions of growth in smaller urban centers.

The decline of the CBD in small communities inevitably necessitates a course of action to reestablish stability. For example, the effects of urban redevelopment in small cities may lead us to a more clear explanation concerning its effects on the community as a whole. If theoretical principles are first based from the experience of simple organisms and later adopted to meet the conditions of the more complex, research in small cities may be of value to the large metropolitan areas.

The Lethbridge Center Redevelopment Project, as part of a CBD revitalization program, is an area of potential research. The effect of major change in the downtown may have a serious impact on the existing commercial structure, the transportation network and the general stability of surrounding areas. This project is the first phase of a renewal scheme which will eventually include the relocation of the railway tracks and which would allow an added 100 acres of central city land to be utilized. The CBD in Lethbridge is in transition and the effects on the community will be of interest to other small centres experiencing a similar situation.

While business relocation in the renewal project evidenced a high rate of business closures, the reasons for liquidation are

not clearly associated with the effects of redevelopment. Further research is necessary to establish the effect of redevelopment on business close-out rates. The long term effect of business activities for those businesses which survived eviction is also an area of future research particularly when extensive short term and long term revitalization measures are being implemented.

Residential relocation redistributed a segment of the population to other areas in the community. Since many of the displaced persons were poor, elderly and single the effects of migrating behavior may not yet be realized. Although Toffler in Future Shock describes the increasing tendency toward more transient relationships with places, we know little about the consequencies of such a trend[17]. Some authors however, agree that although "community without propinquinty is possible,"[18] in existence also are those who are primarily citizens of their local area with limited horizons[19]. Moreover, since only a segment of the displaced population was analyzed, those who relocated on their own created a situation we know little about. Their present situation, the effect on surrounding

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[17] A. Toffler, "Future Shock," New York:Random House Inc., 1970. Chapter 5, "Places:The New Nomads."

[18] M.M. Webber, "Order in Diversity:Community Without Propinquinty," in Cities and Space, L. Wingo Jr., (Ed), Baltimore:John Hopkins Press, 1963, pp. 23-54.

[19] W. Michelson, op. cit. p. 90.

neighborhoods and the impact of moving behavior on the housing stock are areas of study which are the concern of geographers. The awareness of urban renewal problems which are presented in this study can be considerably expanded in future studies.

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APPENDIX A

RESIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age
   a. 18-25
   b. 26-35
   c. 36-45
   d. 46-55
   e. 56-65
   f. over 65 years of age
2. Male_____ Female _____
3. Occupational Status:
   a. retired
   b. unskilled
   c. semi-skilled
   d. managerial
   e. professional
   f. housewife
   g. welfare of any kind
   h. student
4. Are you presently working?
   Yes____ No ____

5. Where do you work?

_____

6. When did you first hear of the downtown renewal project in the city of Lethbridge? (give the approximate date)

_____

7. How did you first learn of the downtown renewal plans for your area?

a. media (newspaper, T.V. etc.)

b. official notice

c. friends

d. other (please specify) _____

7a. Did you know you would have to move from your place of residence?

Yes ____ No ____

8. When were you officially told that you would have to move out of your former home in the downtown renewal area? (give the approximate date)

_____

9. How long did it take you to find a new place of residence?

a. two weeks

b. two to three weeks

c. three to four weeks

d. one - two months

e. longer than two months

10. Have you lived at this present address since you moved out of the renewal area?

Yes ____ No ____

10a. If no, pl ase give other places of residence.

_____

_____

_____

10b. Why did you move from the other places of residence?

a. wanted to buy my own house

b. rent was to high

c. was evicted

d. house was old/dilapetated/deteriorated

e. too far from work

f. other (please specify) _____

_____

11. Why did you choose your present place of residence?

a. rent was right

b. good quality house

c. only place available

d. "our kind" of people live here

e. close to place of work

f. could purchase house

g. wanted to have accommodation close to downtown

h. other _____

12. How many rooms do you have in your home/apartment/suite?

_____

12a. How many persons live here with you? _____

12b. Do you have more or less living space presently as compared to your former home? _____

13. In your home in the Woodward's area, did you

a. own your own home

b. rent an apartment

c. rent in a private home, i.e. room and board

d. rent a house

e. rent in a hotel

13a. Presently, do you

a. own your own home

b. rent an apartment

c. rent a house

d. rent at a rooming house

e. rent at a hotel

f. rent at a senior citizens home

14. How much total rent did you pay for living quarters in the Woodwards area?

a. under 50.00 dollars per month

b. $50.00 - $75.00 per month

c. $75.00 - $100.00 per month

d. $100.00 - $125.00 per month

e. over $150.00 per month

Do you pay more/less/or about the same total rent in your present home compared to your home in the Woodward's area?

a. more _____

b. less _____

cc. same _____

If more, how much more?

a. $0 - $20.00 more

b.$20.00 - $40.00 more

c. $40.00 - $60.00 more

d. more than $60.00 more

Could you tell me which group comes closest to the total amount that you or your family make(s) per month?

a. less than $200.00 per month

b. $200.00 - $250.00 per month

c. $250.00 - $300.00 per month

d. $300.00 - $350.00 per month

e. $350.00 - $400.00 per month

f. $400.00 - $450.00 per month

g. $450.00 - $500.00 per month

h. more than $500.00 per month

Has your income increased since you moved out of the Woodward's area?

a. yes

b. no

If yes, by about how much?

a. $10.00 per month

b. $10.00 - $20.00 per month

c. $20.00 - $30.00 per month

d. $30.00 - $40.00 per month

e. $40.00 - $50.00 per month

f. $50.00 - $75.00 per month

g. $75.00 - $100.00 per month

h. over $100.00 per month

Are you presently closer or further from these places of activity?

	Closer	Further
a. Work	_____	_____
b. Shopping (food)	_____	_____
c. Church	_____	_____
d. Recreation	_____	_____
e. Friends	_____	_____

Do you own an automobile? Yes ____ No ____

Do you like your present neighborhood better than your former neighborhood in the Woodward's area?

a. like very much

b. like somewhat

c. neither dislike or like

d. dislike somewhat

e. dislike very much

Why? _____

_____

What is the condition of your present place of residence?

a. good

b. needs minor repairs

c. needs major repairs

d. dilapitated or unfit for use

(If you can remember the days of your forced relocation)

Do you remember how you felt about having to move?

a. strongly disliked having to move

b. disliked having to move somewhat

c. did not matter

d. somewhat pleased at having to move

e. very pleased about having to move

How do you feel about the move now?

a. very sorry we had to move

b. a little sorry we had to move

c. did not matter

d. happy we had to move

e. very happy we had to move

As compared to your former house in the Woodward's area, how do you feel about the condition of your new dwelling?

a. like very much more

b. like somewhat more

c. no different

d. dislike somewhat more

e. dislike very much more

In what ways is your present dwelling more or less satisfactory than your former residence?

	More	Less	No Different
a. outside appearance			
b. bath or toilet facilities			
c. heating system			
d. kitchen facilities			
e. yard space			
f. slepping space			

Do you feel the city was right in redeveloping the Woodward's area?

a. yes

b. no

Why? _____

_____

Do you think you were given sufficient financial help at the time of your forced move?

a. yes

b. no

c. not sure

Did any organizations in the city help make your search for settlement in a new home easier?

a. yes

b. no

If yes, what organization? What function did it serve?

_____

Were you given an opportunity to participate in renewal or in the relocation planning stages? Yes ____ No ____

What do you see as the main problem for people who are forced from their homes because of urban renewal?

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

BUSINESS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you own this store alone?

   a. yes

   b. no

2. Is this store part of a larger organizatien?

   a. yes

   b. no

2a. What is the connection (franchise, branch, chain, etc.)

_____

3. How large an area does your company service?

   a. city and surrounding area

   b. province

   c. nation

   d. international

4. Before relocation did you own or rent the building in which your business operation?

   a. rented

   b. owned

4b. Do you pay higher rents or taxes on your new premises?

5. If you owned the building in which your business operated in prior to your reolocation,,how much property tax did you pay?

_____

5a. In your present location? _____

6. Which category corresponds to your average annual net taxable income?

a. less than $3,000.00

b. $3,000-00 - $5,000.00

c. $5,000.00 - $10,000.00

d. $10,000.00 - $20,000.00

e. over $20,000.00

7. Could you tell me which category corresponds to your average monthly gross sales?

a. under $1,000.00

b. $1,000.00 - $2,500.00

c. $2,500.00 - $5,000.00

d. $5,000.00 - $10,000.00

e. $10,000.00 - $25,000.00

f. $25,000.00 - $50,000.00

g. $50,000.00 - $100,000.00

h. $100,000.00 and over

8. How did you first learn of urban renewal plans for your area?

a. media (newspaper, T.V., etc.)

b. official notice

c. friends

9. How much time elapsed, if any, between your first hearing of the urban renewal plans and your official notice of eviction?

a. less than one week

b. two weeks

c. one month

d. six months

e. one year

f. more than one year

10. Approximately how long before you moved did you begin looking for a new location? _____

10a. Was this sufficient time?

a. yes

b. no

11. How many possible sites did you investigate. _____

12. Were you denied any available sites?

a. yes

b. no

12a. If yes, why? _____

_____

13. Can you tell me how long a period there was between closing your old business and opening at the new location? _____

14. Were you planning to move, sell, or end you business anyway?

_____

15. Can you estimate the total expenses of making a move to a new location? _____

16. How did you finance the move? _____

_____

17. After relocating, how long did it take for the volume of business to reach what it had been at the old location? In other words, did you suffer an initial decline in business sales after relocation? _____

_____

18. Did you make any changes in merchandise or services when you relocated?

a. yes

b. no

19. Please indicate your general feelings of satisfaction with these aspects of your new locations, as compared with your old (pre-urban renewal) location.

	very satis.	satis.	unsatis.	N/A
a. condition of building				
b. design or appearance of building				
c. cost of doing business				
d. location				
e. adequacy of:				
selling floor space				
display window space				
parking space				
loading/shipping facilities				

20. Did public officials visit your business premises in connection with urban renewal? If so, what agency and what serviced did they provide?

_____

_____

21. Did you have any losses or expenses which you were not compensated for? _____

_____

21. What losses were they? _____

_____

22. Do you think your business is better off now than it would have been if there had been no relocation?

a. yes

b. no

23. Do you approve of the methods used in the urban renewal relocation process?

a. yes

b. no

24. What do you see as the main problem of business evicted by urban renewal? _____

_____